







# THE BALKAN PENINSULA

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EDITED AND REVISED FOR THE ENGLISH PUBLIC  
BY THE AUTHOR

WITH AN INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER UPON THE  
MOST RECENT EVENTS

AND A LETTER FROM THE RIGHT HONOURABLE W. E.  
GLADSTONE, M.P.

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LONDON,

*January 27, 1887.*

DEAR M. DE LAVELEYE,

I learn with particular satisfaction that you are about to publish a detailed work on the Balkan Peninsula.

The well-being, tranquillity, and liberty of that region have now come to be of a more critical importance than ever to the interests of Europe.

It is, therefore, most material that the public mind in the various countries should be impartially and thoroughly informed; and I apprehend that the high reputation which you have justly acquired by former works on Great States of Europe, will, together with your known powers and wide sympathies, qualify you in a rare degree for the performance of this important task.

In this undertaking let me be allowed to wish you every satisfaction and success which prudence, energy, and ability can attain.

Believe me,

Dear M. de Laveleye,

Very faithfully yours,

W. E. GLADSTONE.



## TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

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At a moment when all eyes are turned with interest to the spectacle of the new life of the nationalities of the Balkan Peninsula, no introduction is needed for any narrative of observation of events and personalities there, and, least of all when the observer, as is the case with M. de Laveleye, adds to a very varied experience as a traveller, a world-wide reputation as an economist and political philosopher. Indeed, although M. de Laveleye's second journey through the Balkans is so recent, many of the predictions in the following pages have already passed into the category of accomplished facts.

To M. de Laveleye himself, I have to tender my best thanks for his permission again to present one of his works to the English public, and also for the care with which he has revised it in its new form. I have also to thank Mr. Henry Norman for indicating the excisions by which the two volumes of the original French narrative might best be reduced to the compass of the present one.

In a work containing a multitude of unfamiliar proper names, many of them of disputed spelling and some of them of disputed meaning, I cannot hope to have avoided errors. I have endeavoured to follow the best authorities, and I can only ask for a lenient judgment in the matter of transliteration, upon which scholars are so little agreed.

MARY THORPE.

LENTON HOUSE,  
*January, 1887.*



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## INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

### THE PRESENT POSITION OF BULGARIAN AFFAIRS.

CHANGES of such importance have taken place in Bulgaria since my work, "*La Peninsule des Balkans*," was first published in French, that I think it right in this English edition to devote a fresh chapter to them.

The Berlin Treaty, by cutting Bulgaria into three pieces, contrary to the desire of her inhabitants, and with utter disregard of both geographical and ethnical fitness, had prepared the ground from which a crop of never-ending agitation was inevitably bound to spring—a crop which the Treaty of San Stefano would have ended in preventing.

On either side of the Balkans, both in Bulgaria and in Roumelia, the same desire for union existed. Both parties were agreed as to this, and only differed as to the means by which the end should be attained.

The Liberals were of opinion that the course of events ought to be awaited; the unionists, on the other hand, maintained that they should be challenged. It was a few individuals belonging to the latter party and acting with M. Karaveloff, the head of the Bulgarian Cabinet, who prepared and successfully carried out the revolution of September 18, 1885. So unanimously was this movement supported by the whole population, including even the Mussulmans, that it was accomplished and the union proclaimed without the least resistance being encountered, and without the shedding of one drop of blood!



Prince Alexander was in no way made aware of what was in preparation; but he knew very well that it would be his duty to place himself at the head of any national movement, and in a proclamation dated the 19th of September, and addressed from Tirnova, the ancient capital, he recommended union and assumed the title of Prince of North and South Bulgaria. The Porte protested in a circular, dated the 23rd of September, and called upon the Powers who had signed the Treaty of Berlin, to enforce the observance of its stipulations.

On the 13th of October, the Powers collectively declare, "that they condemn this violation of the Treaty, and are sure that the Sultan will do all that he can, consistently with his sovereign rights, before resorting to the force which he has at his disposal."

From the moment when there was opposition to the use of force, which even the Porte did not seem in a hurry to employ, the union of the two Bulgarias necessarily became an accomplished fact.

However, at the first sitting of the "Conférence des Ambassadeurs" on the 5th of November, at Constantinople, Russia showed herself very hostile to the union, and even went so far as to urge the Porte to offer an armed resistance to it.

England, on the contrary, understanding at length how far from clear-sighted Lord Beaconsfield's policy had been, took Prince Alexander's defence in hand.

Sir W. White, the British Minister, with but little help from France and Italy, who ought to have allied themselves with England in this matter, displayed such skill, energy, and perseverance, as rendered the work of the conference useless, and brought about a direct understanding between Prince Alexander and the Sultan.

Austria and Germany had accepted the union from the very first. On the 22nd of September, Count Kálnoky, said to the English Ambassador: "The recognition by Prince Alexander of the sovereignty of the Sultan's Government is so far important that it might possibly facilitate the course of the Sultan's Government, if they

were disposed to acknowledge the change which has been effected. . . . It was not so much the union of the provinces, which every one must have expected to take place sooner or later, but the mode in which it had been brought about, which was to be objected to" (Blue-book, Turkey I., No. 53).

Prince Bismarck was the first to put a stop to all military action on the part of Turkey. "I have just seen M. Thielman, the German *Chargé d'Affaires*," writes Sir William White, on the 25th of September, "and he informs me that he has received instructions from Prince Bismarck to urge upon the Turks not to cross the frontier. The Sultan has since the outbreak been disposed to this course" (Blue-book, I., No. 50).

Austria, together with Germany, found fault with the arrangement concluded, later on, between the Porte and Prince Alexander, because it did not sufficiently conform to the wishes and desires of the people. Count Kálnoky said to the English Ambassador at Vienna, "That it might be advantageously changed in the sense of extension, rather than restriction, in order to ensure a better chance of finality," and he especially named the clause appointing Prince Alexander Governor-General of Eastern Roumelia for five years instead of for life. He expressed the opinion, that the arrangement should be such as to satisfy the Bulgarian and Roumelia people as well as the Prince, so as to avert as much as possible any excuse for further agitation (Blue-book, Turkey II., No. 133).

Whilst England and Austria both accepted the union of the two Bulgarias as being rendered necessary by the position of affairs, whilst even the Porte (although protesting) was resigned, the Emperor of Russia displayed a passionate hostility to it, not at all in accord with the feelings of the Russian nation; for, as we have seen by the English Blue-book, Russian officers at Philippopolis had expressed approval of the revolution of the 18th of September, up to the moment when they received orders to the contrary (Blue-book, Turkey, I., No. 161).

M. de Giers, during a conversation with the English Envoy at St. Petersburg, went the length of "throwing doubt upon the generally accepted theory, that the revolution in Eastern Roumelia was the outcome of a united *national aspiration*." He said, "It was entirely the work of a few hot-heads; and even now," he added, "there existed in Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia a strong feeling against the agitation for union. The readiness of the Bulgarians to die for a patriotic cause, and similar enthusiastic sentiments were freely reported in the press; but he had reason to know that they existed not in reality" (Blue-book, Turkey, No. 402); and a few days after, on November 27, 1885, the English minister writes: "The language held by M. de Giers led me to infer that the Russian Government are still determined to oppose the union of the two provinces in any shape" (Blue-book, Turkey I., No. 527). In every conversation with Sir R. Morier, at St. Petersburg, M. de Giers urges a strict observance of the Berlin Treaty, and desires the re-establishment of the *status quo ante* (Blue-book, Nos. 411 and 475).

At a sitting of the Conference, on the 25th of November, M. de Nelidoff, the Russian Ambassador, demands that the basis of all their deliberations should be "the re-establishment of order, in conformity with the stipulations of the Treaty of Berlin." This was an absolute veto upon the union of the two Bulgarias.

A few days later, the Russian Consul at Philippopolis, threatened the Roumelian notables with an intervention by Turkish troops, for the purpose of inducing them to submit to the demands of the Porte. The Roumelian notables boldly replied, that they would resist the Turkish army and that the 70,000 soldiers, whom they had on the Eastern frontier, would drive back the Turkish army of occupation (Blue-book, II., No. 57).

Now, why did Russia completely change her policy and become the sole champion of a strict observance of the Berlin Treaty? and why did she become an opponent of the attainment of the principal end which in the Treaty of San Stefano she had had in view?

It was pretended that the Emperor Alexander was acting in this way to show that he had never instigated nor approved of the Roumelian revolution; but every well-informed man in Europe was aware that the movement had taken place without even the Prince himself having been told beforehand about it.

On the 20th of September, Count Kálnoky said to the English Ambassador at Vienna: "This movement has been organized in Bulgaria, but without the connivance or knowledge of either the Emperor or the Government of Russia, whom he believed it would take as much by surprise as it certainly had taken him" (Blue-book, I., No. 9).

On the 10th of October M. Tisza, replying to an interpellation of M. Szilagyi in the Hungarian Parliament, expressed himself in these terms: "We were aware of the existence in Bulgaria of a tendency towards a union of these two States. This tendency was also known to all who carefully followed what was happening in those two countries. Last year when this movement began to declare itself, several of the Powers interfered to maintain the *status quo*, but neither had we nor any other European Power any knowledge of what was going to take place on the 18th of September, by means of a revolution and as the result of a conspiracy."

Russia was also aware that the Prince had had nothing to do with it. On the 21st of September, the English Representative, so it is said, was told at the Foreign Office in St. Petersburg, "That the revolution could not have been planned and carried out by the Prince of Bulgaria, because he was not a man of sufficient ability for an undertaking on so large a scale" (Blue-book, Turkey I., No. 74).

The motives which impelled Russia to adopt a line of conduct so at variance with her traditional policy and her true interests seem to have been as follows: The Emperor was animated by private and personal hatred of Prince Alexander, because he had refused to become the very humble servant of the Russian Generals Soboleff and

Kaulbars, who had forced him to leave Sofia: and, in the second place, because he saw that Bulgaria, which he had thought of making into an outpost for his onward march through the Peninsula, was escaping from his influence more and more.

In Russia they had reckoned upon all the liberties guaranteed by the Constitution of Tirnova, becoming so many causes of disorder and anarchy, instead of which the Bulgarians were growing accustomed to freedom. Schools were being endowed, the country was progressing in every way, and thus the Bulgarians were becoming less and less fitted for transformation into Russian subjects. Their lot was a preferable one, by far, to that of the people of Russia—henceforth they would refuse to accept the Russian yoke!

The Russian officers and employés had caused great irritation: first, because they did not conceal their disdain for the rustic manners and customs of their *protégés*; and, again, because their expenditure, often on an extravagant scale, was galling to the economical mind of the Bulgarian, who knew that the money which was being squandered in this fashion was his own.

Unified Bulgaria was becoming a state containing all the elements of autonomous development, able, like Roumania, to defend her future independence. If, then, Russia wanted to maintain her high-handed policy in Bulgaria, she must oppose the union and hinder the consolidation of Bulgarian nationality by every means in her power; this she has done without scruple of any sort or kind, as will be shown by a brief epitome of what has happened recently.

Servia, hoping to extend her territory in the direction of Trn and Widdin and, pleading regard for the Treaty of Berlin and the theory of the balance of power, attacks Bulgaria. On November 14th, 1885, Prince Alexander defends the Slivnitza position with admirable courage and strategic skill. The Roumelian militia, coming in by forced marches of unheard-of length, perform prodigies of valour in the

field. Within eight days, *i.e.*, from the 20th to the 28th of November, the Servian army, far greater in numbers, is driven back into its own territory; the Dragoman Pass is crossed; Pirot is taken by assault; and Prince Alexander is marching on Nisch, when his victorious progress is arrested by the Austrian Minister, under threats of an armed intervention on the part of that country!

On December 21st, an armistice is concluded, afterwards made into a treaty of peace, and signed at Bucharest on March 3rd by M. Miyatovitch on behalf of Servia, by M. Guechoff on behalf of Bulgaria, and by Madgid Pascha for the Sultan. Prince Alexander did all he could to bring about a reconciliation with the Czar, and even went so far as to attribute to Russian instructors all the merit of the victories he had just won. The Czar would not yield. Then the Prince turned to the Sultan, and with him succeeded in coming to a direct understanding. The Prince was to be nominated Governor-General of Roumelia; a mixed Commission was to meet and modify the Roumelian statutes; more than this, the Porte was bound to place troops at his disposal, in the event of his being attacked; and the Prince on his side was bound to do the same for Turkey. This latter clause wounded Russia to the quick, although it merely enforced an obligation arising out of the tie which bound the Bulgaria vassal to the Ottoman Empire. The Conference of Ambassadors at Constantinople ratified this agreement, but in deference to the opposition of Russia this last clause was left out!

At the elections for the National Assembly of the two Bulgarias, in spite of the intrigues of Russia, the Opposition only succeeded in returning 10 deputies out of 89! Again on the 17th of June, when the ukase of Prince Alexander proclaiming Bulgarian unity was read in the Sobranje, it was received with loud and enthusiastic cheers, which showed how strong the feeling was in favour of national unity. This fact too is well worth noting, that the thirty Mussulman members of the Sobranje gave the Government a solid vote, and that in the war with Servia, Mussul-

man soldiers were amongst the first to hasten to the frontier and defend the soil of which all alike were sons. This seems to prove that the Turks, who had not emigrated, were without grounds of complaint against the Bulgarian Government and did not at all regret, as was pretended, the old *régime* under the Turkish rule.

By having a direct understanding with the Porte, Prince Alexander was inaugurating a new policy, equally called for by the mutual interests of the two parties to the contract, but sure to be distasteful to Russia on that very account. Plainly, if the Sultan wished to save his empire he must make up his mind to satisfy the aspirations of its peoples, and, above all, those of Bulgaria. And, on the other hand, it was of the greatest advantage to Bulgaria to have the support of Turkey in repelling Northern aggression. From that date the Czar swore that he would cause Prince Alexander's downfall.

It was said that Prince Alexander of Battenberg had changed into a sword the sceptre which Russia had given him and was going to turn it against his benefactor. Nothing could be more untrue. Up to the very last moment, he did everything he could to disarm the anger of the Czar, but what was wanted from him was this—that he should make Bulgaria an obedient satellite of Russia, and rather than consent to do so he left Sofia.

The story of the Prince's dethronement by Russian influence, or, as Lord Salisbury said, by Russian gold, is well known. A handful of malcontent officers, a few cadets of the *École Militaire*, and some of Zankoff's adherents,

\* M. Von Huhn in his book, "*Der Kampf der Bulgaren um ihre National Einheit*" (1885, p. 182), quotes a fact showing the good feeling between Mussulmans and Christians in Bulgaria. "In accordance with Russian custom adopted by the Bulgarians, after a campaign or a great battle, military decorations are distributed amongst the regiments who again divide them amongst their companies. The soldiers of each company choose by a majority of votes which of their comrades shall wear the decoration for the rest. The first Bulgarian military cross ever given was accorded to a Turk, whose company contained a majority of Christians."

banding themselves together, broke into the palace during the night of the 21st of August, seized the Prince, and had him carried off, without escort, to Rahova on the Danube, from thence to Reni in Bessarabia, where he was handed over to the Russians ! The conspirators endeavoured to form a government, but the whole country rose against them, in spite of the support openly given them by M. Bogdanoff the Russian diplomatic agent.

On the 3rd of September, a few days after these occurrences, Prince Alexander returned to his capital, welcomed home by the acclamations of the whole people ; but in answer to a respectful, not to say too humble, telegram in which he offered to replace his Crown in the hands of the Czar, that potentate replied that he ceased to have any relations with Bulgaria as long as Prince Alexander remained there. Owing to advice which came, no doubt, from Berlin, Prince Alexander decided to abdicate ; he did so because of the demands of the Czar and in the interests of Bulgaria.

Russia then tried to reduce the Bulgarians to obedience by intimidation. She sent General Kaulbars, who vainly endeavoured to stir up the people and the army against the Regency, which had been formed after the Prince's departure, and subsequently confirmed in their position by the Sobranje. He encountered everywhere a firm but respectful resistance, very creditable to the good sense and patriotism of the Bulgarian people.

Russia even went so far as to countenance a *pronunciamento* at Bourgas, by Capt. Nobokoff, one of the principal actors in the plot against the Prince, whose freedom Russia had demanded and obtained. This attempt at raising insurrection having also turned out a miserable failure, Russia made a final effort at intimidation by withdrawing her Consuls and Vice-Consuls. This produced not the slightest effect : on the contrary, there was a general sense of relief when it was known that these agents of disorder had left.

Russia's line of conduct has been remarkable for its



blunders. In Bulgaria she has set all good patriots against her. In Europe, whilst the friends of liberty have been rendered indignant by the unrestrained acts of a *despot against a young and interesting nationality*, the Conservatives have been scandalized seeing the Emperor of Russia take conspirators under his protection who are *more guilty than the Nihilists themselves*.

Previous to this, and in the same way, Russia by her haughty and despotic behaviour had estranged Roumania and Servia, both of whom owed their freedom to her efforts. After having obtained from the Sultan in 1820 Servia's right to self-government, Russia offered opposition to her becoming entirely free, and forced Milosch to abdicate in 1857. She also helped on the insurrections which forced Prince Michael to fly to Austria, and which afterwards obliged his successor, Alexander Kara-George, to do the same. The Russian-Consul kept conspirators and rebels in his pay, but the Servians grew wearied of being the tools of foreign intrigue, and soon made their escape altogether from Russian influence. Although the recent aggrandizement of Servia is due solely to the devotion of Russian volunteers and soldiers, who poured out their blood for their brethren in the Timok Valley, yet it is not at St. Petersburg that Belgrade seeks inspiration nowadays.

What will Russia do now? The most sensible thing to do would obviously be to draw, from the failure of General Kaulbars's mission, the sound conclusion that the Bulgarians mean to govern themselves, and not to obey orders from St. Petersburg, and to accept this fact, which every one can see. If she is determined to impose her will, she must despatch the Cossacks—a step which might have the gravest consequences. Is she sure that Berlin, which maintains so absolute a reserve, would consent? Would not the Russian army of occupation, which must cross the Black Sea, find its communications cut by the Turkish fleet and the English ironclads? Would it not very soon come into contact with “the Austro-Hungarian sentinel, mounting guard over the Balkans,” of whom Lord Salisbury, and,

still more recently, Lord Randolph Churchill, has spoken ? Besides, the position of Russia in Bulgaria, deprived of the right of sending supplies through Roumania, would be very difficult. She would have to reckon from the outset with the passionate hostility of the country occupied. The Bulgarians, like the Servians, have the instinct of liberty and independence, and it will be long before they are willing to be led like serfs.

Let us consider what would be the probable attitude of the Powers in presence of such an event. There has been much talk lately about the understanding which seemed to be established between Turkey and Russia. The Porte, conscious of the dangers which threaten it on every side, refuses to offend any Power, and will take no step without the concurrence of the States which were parties to the Treaty of Berlin ; but it would probably resist a Russian occupation if assured of sufficient support, and for two reasons—first, for fear of losing a province which was on the way to become an ally, as Prince Alexander had proposed ; and next, because Russia, well planted at Philipopolis, would be practically master of Constantinople. I do not believe that any promise or *baksheesh* would bring the Sultan voluntarily to submit to such a solution.

As to Austria-Hungary, her policy has been already explained in M. Tisza's remarkable speech to the Hungarian Parliament (Oct., 1886). She covets no extension of territory in the Balkan Peninsula ; she cannot allow any other Power to exercise preponderating influence there ; she favours the autonomy of the young States which have so recently sprung up, and would willingly see them federated. This attitude is apparently hostile to the entry of the Russians into Bulgaria. One would have thought that an agreement might have been come to between the two empires which dispute the hegemony of the Balkan Peninsula, the one taking the west, as far as Salonica, and the other the east, as far as Constantinople. But I fancy that the Hungarians, who are very clear-sighted, would never consent to such a partition. For, first, it would immeasurably in-

crease the Slav element in the dual empire ; and secondly, the position of Austria at Salonica would be untenable with Russia at Constantinople, Great Bulgaria on one flank and Montenegro on the other. Austria cannot extend her occupation from Bosnia and Novi-Bazar to the Ægean, unless Russia remains within her present frontiers. One of the most eminent of Russian military writers, General *Fadéeff* has said that the road from Moscow to Constantinople lay through Vienna ; and he was right. Austria must be reduced to impotence before she could allow the Russians to establish themselves permanently on the shores of the Bosphorus.

And, England, what would she do ? You are better able to judge than I. But it seems to me that she would support Austria, because it is for her interest to do so. At least that is what Lord Randolph Churchill said very lately ; but was he speaking of moral support or of the effective support of the British fleet ? I think that England would be drawn into active hostilities, because it would be better worth her while to fight Russia in company with allies on the Continent and on the Black Sea, than to have to attack the Muscovite Colossus alone in the deserts of Central Asia, or the valleys of Afghanistan, as she was ready to do, the other day, under the Gladstone Cabinet. It has lately been maintained that England might look on a Russian occupation of Constantinople without regret or fear, and even with satisfaction. That is an illusion or a dream. It is the same question as that of Egypt. If England could give up her interest in India, turn her attention to her internal development, and resolve to allow the Suez Canal to pass into the hands of France or Russia, that would be a complete scheme, and would work the best for the happiness of the English people. But as in the present state of opinion this policy, however desirable on economic grounds, has not the slightest chance of acceptance, the Government, of whatever complexion, will be compelled to defend the passage from the Mediterranean to the Red Sea. The Russians at Constantinople would be masters

of the Suez Canal, for, having the Black Sea all to themselves and the Bosphorus for a base of operations, they could despatch to Egypt by land such an army as the English could not stop. If therefore England can find allies, she will prevent the Russians from occupying Bulgaria in permanence, and this is the more probable because Liberal opinion is unanimously in favour of the Bulgarians, and of the idea of a Balkan Federation, which Mr. Gladstone has always put forward.

Italy would probably incline to the cause of the liberty of peoples, defended by England and Austria; but no one would, I imagine, expect any military action from her. There remains to be questioned the formidable Sphinx of Berlin. Every one acknowledges that the final decision depends on him. If he decidedly opposes the occupation of Bulgaria, it will not take place; for unless the Czar has lost all power of forecast, he will not go so far as to risk the quadruple alliance of Turkey, Austria, Germany, and England. Some say Bismarck will not veto the occupation, because he does not want war. But, on the contrary, would not his veto be peace? And if he does not forbid, is it not because a conflict between Russia and Austria would not be disagreeable to him? Three years ago, when I travelled along the banks of the Danube and through the Balkan Peninsula, every one thought that this terrible duel was about to come off, because Prince Bismarck desired it.

I will not venture to solve this awful enigma; but we may call to mind some remarks of the great Chancellor on this subject, which afford matter for reflection. In June, 1883, Prince Bismarck, in the Prussian Parliament, addressing one of the heads of the Liberal opposition, spoke as follows—

“The honourable deputy Richter is for economy in the budget, and so am I; but in what departments shall we economize? No doubt he refers to the military expenditure; it is only there that reduction is possible. But does not Herr Richter know that Germany is a pole towards which all the bayonets in Europe may point? Does he for-

get that ever since 1875 I have not paused for one moment in my efforts to prevent the formation of a triple alliance against us. Be sure of this, that on the day which shall see us weak and disarmed that alliance will be made."

It was to prevent that triple alliance that Prince Bismarck, in 1879, entered into the very closest relations with Austria. The Austrian alliance is the pivot of his policy. He is threatened by the over-possible alliance of France and Russia. "Such an alliance," he once said, "is so natural that we may consider it as already in existence." When, in 1870, Bishop Strossmayer asked of the Russian Ambassador at Vienna that the Czar should come to the relief of France, he was answered: "It would be an act of folly on our part. We shall now have an ally on whom we can always reckon in case of need." Bismarck, knowing himself menaced both from East and West, must do everything to maintain an intimate friendship with the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

The Austro-German alliance rests upon common interests so obvious, that we may believe Count Taaffe's recent declaration that it remains unshaken. Austria, supported by Germany, is in truth mistress of the East. She only can speak the decisive word. Her influence in Servia is supreme. Bosnia and Herzegovina, under the skilful administration of Baron Kállay, are on the way to become completely assimilated to her. By protecting Bulgarian autonomy, and supporting, under the plea of the rights of nationalities, the idea of a Balkan Federation, she will, thanks to the inexplicable mistakes of Russia, see the whole Peninsula turn towards her, and accept her commercial and economic supremacy. There is no disguising the fact that since she has been able to dispose of the sword of Germany, she has grown from a weak and threatened Power into the arbiter of European politics. Germany, on her side, finds in the support of Austria security, and the certainty of being able to face both the East and the West at once. We may therefore conclude, that if Austria thinks she ought at one stroke to prevent

Russia from occupying Bulgaria, and so being, by railway, at the very gates of Constantinople, Germany will support her. Prince Bismarck has often said that the German Empire has no direct interest in the East; and one can see from the Blue-books (Turkey, I. and II.) that he comes to no decision without consulting Austria; but he has an overwhelming interest in holding the friendship of Austria, and this will determine his true position.

If the Czar, carried away by his anger, his resentments, and his embarrassments, should take the plunge, and brave the hostility of Austria, could he count on the support of France? Who will dare to say yes? No doubt the idea of the "Revanche" has not faded out of the French mind. On the contrary, it has been gaining strength for some time past. To satisfy one's self of this it is only necessary to read the French newspapers, or to note that a writer so cautious as M. Cherbuliez closes his recent article on Bulgarian affairs with the following words: "France has no course to propose, but is it her duty to hold off from those who would speak with her, and can she prevent people from knowing where she lives?" (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, October 1, 1886). But we must believe that France would choose her own time, and that she would not mingle in the fray, unless she saw Germany obliged to carry off a portion of her army to the East to cover the flank of Austria.

Whatever may be said, France has at her disposal very formidable military forces, animated by an ardent patriotism and an insatiable thirst for vengeance; her territory and her capital are now surrounded by a ring of detached forts and entrenched camps, so well planted that an invasion like that of 1870 has become impossible. But, on the other hand, she has no generalissimo who would, from the first start, be universally accepted—an indispensable condition of successful warfare in an epoch like ours, when the engagements of the first fortnight decide the campaign; and besides it would be very difficult for the French to get past the enormous fortifications of Strasbourg and Metz into the interior of Germany. They would therefore be

obliged to invade by the valley of the Meuse, and endeavour to pass Cologne—a very dangerous plan of attack, according to the strategic authorities. Would these obvious difficulties, and the natural sympathies of a Republic for a free Bulgaria, be enough to prevent the seizing of the opportunity apparently offered by a war between Germany and Russia? At all events, there would be for the French people a moment of cruel anxiety and perhaps irresistible impulse.

Happily, at the moment at which I pen the concluding lines of this chapter, the danger which seemed imminent tends to recede. The Czar is apparently coming to see that the road he was taking leads to disaster. We may hope that a very clear and marked understanding between England, Germany, and Austria will always avail to stop him and prevent war.

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## ERRATA.

P. 298, eleventh line from foot ; p. 299, last line ; and p. 302, second line from bottom, for "Pharianote" read "Phanariote."

Page 294, second line, for "Greek" read "into Greece."

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The Bosniak word *Beg*—large landowner—has been translated by its more familiar equivalent *Bey*.

## CHAPTER I.

### VIENNA—MINISTERS AND FEDERALISM.

THE country the railway passes through on approaching Vienna is really enchanting. It is a series of valleys with clear streams flowing through, and surrounded by hills clothed with fir-trees and oaks. One might imagine one's self in Styria or Upper Bavaria. However, summer residences, often built like chalets, and buried beneath climbing roses, gloire de Dijon, and clematis, are soon visible. They gradually get nearer together, form groups, and, around the suburban stations, hamlets of villas. No capital except Stockholm has more charming environs. Sub-alpine nature advances almost to the suburbs: nothing is more delightful than Baden, Mödling, Brühl, Voslau, and all those country residences to the south of Vienna, on the Sömering road.

I arrived at ten o'clock, and went to Hôtel Munsch, an old and good house, which, in my opinion, is greatly preferable to the large and luxurious caravanseraï of the Ring, where one is only a number. I found a letter from Baron de Neumann, my colleague at the University of Vienna and in the Institute of International Law. It was to tell me that the Minister Taaffe would receive me at eleven, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Count Kálnoky, at three. It is always wise to see the ministers of the countries that one visits ; it opens the doors that we desire to



enter, and the records that we ought to consult, and, in case of need, it will free us from prison, if any mistake has thrown us there.

The Prime Minister of Cisleithania lives in a sombre palace, in the Judenplatz, one of the dark and narrow streets of old Vienna. Large rooms, correct and bare, furniture solemn and simple, but pure eighteenth century : it is the dwelling of a family who must live by rule, to keep within its income. How different from the Ministries of Paris, where luxury is displayed in ultra-gilt wainscots, in painted ceilings, in large and splendid staircases, as, for instance, at the Finances and Foreign Affairs ! I prefer the simplicity of the official buildings of Vienna and Berlin. The State ought not to set the example and fashion of prodigality.

Count Taaffe was going to an interview with the Emperor ; nevertheless, he gave the best possible reception to the letter of introduction which I brought from one of his cousins, supported by that of my friend Neumann, who has been Professor of Public Law to his Excellency. I recall what follows of his conversation, and I find in it the explanation of his present policy.

“What is the best method of inducing several people to remain together in the same house ? Is it not to leave them free to manage their household affairs as they will ? Compel them to live, talk, and amuse themselves in the same way, and they will quarrel and only seek to be separated. How is it that the Italians of the Tessin never think of the union of their canton with Italy ? Because they find themselves very happy in the Swiss Confederation. Do you remember the Austrian motto, *Viribus unitis*. True union will spring from general satisfaction. The way to satisfy all, is to sacrifice the rights of none.”

I answered : “ You are quite right ; to make unity the growth of liberty and autonomy is to render it indestructible.”

Count Taaffe has long inclined to Federalist ideas. When in the Taaffe-Potočki Ministry in 1869, he sketched a com-

plete plan of reforms which was intended to increase the powers of provincial autonomies,\* and in the articles that I published in 1868-69 I tried to show that this is the best solution of the problem. Count Taaffe is still young; he was born February 24, 1833. He is descended from an Irish family, and is a peer of Ireland, with the title of Viscount Taaffe of Couvren, Baron of Ballymote. But his ancestors were banished and lost their Irish property because of their attachment to the Stuarts. They then entered the service of the Dukes of Lorraine, and one of them distinguished himself at the siege of Vienna, in 1683.

The present minister, Count Edward, was born at Prague. His father was President of the Supreme Court of Justice. For himself, he began his career in the administration in Hungary, under Baron Bach. The latter, seeing his abilities and industry, procured him rapid advancement; Taaffe became successively Vice-Governor of Bohemia, Governor of Salzburg, and finally Governor of Upper Austria. Called in 1867 to the Ministry of the Interior, he signed the famous Act of the 21st of December, which constituted the existing dualism.

After the fall of the Ministry, he was made Governor of the Tyrol, which he administered for seven years to the general satisfaction. Returned to power, he again took the portfolio of the Interior, to which is added the Presidency of the Council, and he is recommencing his Federalist policy with more success than in 1869. At Vienna people are astonished and alarmed at the concessions with which he loads the Czechs. They say this is intended to gain their vote in favour of the revision of the law of primary education in the reactionary and clerical sense; they forget that he has been pledged to Federalist ideas for more than sixteen years. What is really more astonishing is the contradiction between the home and foreign policies of the Austrian Government. At home, the Slav movement is evidently favoured. Thus in Galicia and Bohemia everything is granted them,

\* I have given a sketch of it in my book, "*La Prusse et l'Autriche depuis Sadowa*," vol. ii. p. 265.

except the re-establishment of the kingdom of St. Wenceslas, for which, however, the way is being prepared. On the contrary, outside, and especially beyond the Danube, they resist the Slav movement, and attempt to repress it, at the risk of increasing to an alarming extent the popularity and influence of Russia. This contradiction is thus explained. The common Ministry of the empire is quite independent of the Ministry of Cisleithania. The general Ministry, presided over by the Chancellor, is composed of only three Ministers—Foreign Affairs, Finance, and War; it alone has the right to interfere in foreign affairs, and the Hungarians predominate there.

The residence and chief estate of Count Taaffe is at Ellishan, in Bohemia. An officer of the order of Malta, he has also the Golden Fleece, a very rare distinction. He is thus in every way a great personage. In 1860 he married the Countess Irma de Csaky de Keresztsegh, by whom he has one son and five daughters. He has thus one foot in Bohemia and the other in Hungary. No one denies his powers as an indefatigable worker and a skilful administrator; but at Vienna he is reproached with loving the aristocracy and the clergy too much; at Prague they would probably raise him a statue as high as the cathedral in the Hradshin, if he brought the Emperor there to be crowned.

At three o'clock I called on Count Kálnoky, at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in the Ballplatz. This, at least, is well situated, open to the sunshine, near the Imperial residence, and in sight of the Ring. Large, solemn, cold drawing-rooms; gilt chairs, white-and-gold wainscot, hangings and curtains of red silk; parquet floors shining like a mirror, and without carpet; on the wall large portraits of the Imperial Family.

Whilst waiting to be announced I think of Metternich, who resided here for so long. It was Austria who decided the fall of Napoleon; it is still she who holds in her hands the destinies of Europe. As she leans to the north, east, or west, so the balance inclines; and the director of Austria's

foreign policy is the Minister I am about to see. I expected to find myself in the presence of a majestic person with white hair; I was pleasantly surprised to be received in the most affable manner by a man who seems not over forty, in morning dress of brown tweed, with a small pale blue neck-tie; he has an open expression, cordial face, and an eye sparkling with intelligence. All the Kálnokys, they say, are witty. He has the quiet, refined, simple look of an English lord, and he speaks French like a Parisian, as the Austrians of the higher classes often do. This arises, I imagine, from the fact that in speaking six or seven languages equally well, the special accents neutralize one another. English and Germans, even when they know French thoroughly, usually retain a foreign accent.

Count Kálnoky asked what were my plans for travelling. When he learned that I intended to follow the line of the railway which will connect Belgrade, through Sofia, with Constantinople, he said—

“ This is just now our great anxiety. In the West we are believed to mean conquest, which is absurd. It would be impossible to satisfy the two great parties of the empire, and we have, besides, the greatest interest in the maintenance of peace. Nevertheless, we do dream of conquests, but of such as in your character of political economist you will approve. It is those to be made by our manufactures, our commerce, our civilization. But to realize them we must have railways in Servia, Bulgaria, Bosnia, Macedonia, and, above all, a junction with the Ottoman system, which will definitely connect the East and West. Engineers and diplomatists are both at work. We shall get to the end soon, I hope. When a Pullman car will take you comfortably from Paris to Constantinople in three days, I venture to believe that you will not be dissatisfied with our activity. It is for you Westerns that we are working.”

It is said that diplomatists use words to conceal their thoughts. I think, notwithstanding, that when the Austrian statesmen deny any idea of conquest or annexation in the East, they express the real intention of the Imperial

Government. I had heard the same expressions from the former Chancellor, Baron Haymerlé, when I saw him in Rome, in 1879, and he wrote to me in a similar strain shortly before his death. Now, Haymerlé knew the East and the Balkan Peninsula better than any one, and he spoke all its languages perfectly. He had long lived there, first as Interpreter to the Austrian Embassy, then as Envoy. Still it is impossible not to foresee certain eventualities which would force Austria to take a step forward; such, for example, as a triumphant insurrection in Servia, or serious troubles in Macedonia, threatening the safety of the railway from Mitrovitz to Salonica. Austria, occupying Bosnia as far as Novi-Bazar, would not permit the Peninsula to be given over to anarchy or civil war. States which are mixed up with Eastern affairs must go further than they wish: look at England in Egypt! This is the grave side of the predominant position which Austria has secured in the Balkan Peninsula.

I will give some details about the present Chancellor. Count Gustave Kálnoky, of Korospatak, is of Hungarian origin, as his name indicates; but he was born at Lettowitz, in Moravia, on the 29th of December, 1832, and most of his property is in this province, amongst which are the estates of Prodlitz, Ottaslawitz, and Szabatta. He has several brothers and a very beautiful sister, who married first, Count Johan Waldstein, widower of a Zichy, and already sixty-two years of age, and then, a widow in her turn, the Duke of Sabran.

Chancellor Kálnoky has had a very extraordinary career. In 1879 he left the army with the rank of Colonel-Major, and entered diplomacy; he was appointed to Copenhagen, where he seemed to take a somewhat obscure part; but a short time afterwards he was appointed to St. Petersburg, the most important of all the diplomatic posts, and, on Haymerlé's death, he was made Minister of Foreign Affairs. Thus, in three years, from a distinguished and accomplished cavalry officer, without political influence, he became the first personage in the empire, the arbiter of its destiny,

and consequently of that of Europe. Whence came this unheard-of advancement, which reminds one of the Grand Viziers in the "Thousand and one Nights"? It is generally ascribed to the friendship of Andrassy. But here is the real truth, though it is little known. Count Kálnoky uses the pen even more ably than the tongue; his despatches were finished models. The Emperor, an indefatigable and conscientious worker, personally studies his foreign policy, and reads the despatches of his ambassadors: he was much struck with those of Kálnoky, and marked him as deserving the highest office. At St. Petersburg Kálnoky charmed every one by his intelligence and amiability. Notwithstanding that Austrians are not trusted there, he even became a *persona grata* at Court. When the Emperor of Austria appointed him Chancellor, he made him also Major-General. It was thought at first that his connection with Russia would lead him to act in concert with her, perhaps also with France, and so to break the German alliance, but Kálnoky can never forget that he is a Hungarian, the friend of Andrassy, and that since 1866, Hungarian policy turns on the pivot of a cordial understanding with Berlin. The German papers began to doubt the fidelity of Austria. Public opinion was roused in Vienna, and especially at Pesth; but Kálnoky soon ended these reports by his journey to Gastein, where the Emperor William loaded him with marks of affection, and where, in the interview with Bismarck, all misunderstandings were dissipated. This young minister now holds a very strong position. He enjoys the absolute confidence of the Emperor, and also, it appears, that of the nation; for, in the last session of the delegates of Cis- and Trans-leithania, all parties cheered him, even the Czechs, who are now dominant in the Reichsrath. Count Kálnoky has remained unmarried, which, they say, disappoints the mothers and disturbs the husbands.

I spent the evening with the Salm-Lichtensteins. I had met the Altgräfin in Florence, and I was happy to make

*the acquaintance of her husband, who is a member of Parliament, and warmly interested in the Czecho-German question. He belongs to the Austrian Liberal party, and sharply blames the Taaffe policy and the alliance that the feudal party, and particularly almost all the members of his own and his wife's family (young Prince Lichtenstein, for example) have concluded with the ultra-Czech party.*

"Their aim," he said, "is to obtain the same position for Bohemia as that enjoyed by Hungary. The Emperor should go to Prague to place on his head the crown of St. Wenceslas. Bohemia would again become autonomous. They would, like Hungary, be ruled by an autonomous Diet, and the empire, instead of a duality, would be a trinity. Except for general business, it would be three independent States, joined only in the person of the sovereign. It is the *régime* of the Middle Ages. It could stand when it was universal, but it can no longer last when around us are large unified States, like France, Russia, and Italy. I approve of Federation for a small neutral State like Switzerland, or for an isolated country comprising a whole continent like the United States; but I regard it as fatal for Austria, which, in the centre of Europe, is exposed to the quarrels and covetousness of all her neighbours.

"My good friends, the great noblemen, supported really by the clergy, hope that in an autonomous Bohemia, completely withdrawn from the action of the Liberals of the central Parliament, they would be the absolute masters, and they would be able to re-establish the old order of things. I think that they are quite mistaken. When the Nationalist Czechs have gained their end, they will turn against their present allies. At the bottom they are all democrats of differing shades, from pale rose to brightest scarlet, but all oppose the domination of the aristocracy and the clergy, and they will then join with the Germans of our towns, who are almost all Liberals. Even the Germans who live in the country will follow them. The aristocracy and the clergy will be inevitably defeated. In case of need, the ultra-

*Czechs will appeal to the remembrance of John Huss and Zisca.*

"How strange is this! most of the great families who have put themselves at the head of the national movement are of German origin, and do not speak the language which they wish to have used officially. The Hapsburgs, our capital, our civilization, the initial and persistent force which has created Austria, all are Germanic, are they not? In Hungary, German, the language of our Emperor, is proscribed; it is proscribed also in Galicia; proscribed in Croatia, proscribed also ere long in Carinthia, in Carniola, in Bohemia. The present policy is dangerous in all ways. It deeply wounds the German element, which represents enlightenment, trade, money, all the modern powers. If it triumphs in Bohemia it will hand over the clergy and the aristocracy to the democratic Czechs and Hussites."

"All that you say," I answered, "is strictly logical; I can only raise this objection. It sometimes happens in human affairs that certain irresistible currents set in. They are recognized by the fact that nothing stops them, everything serves their turn. Such is the movement of nationalities. Think of their wonderful re-awakening. It might be called the resurrection of the dead. Buried in darkness, they are rising again in light and glory. What was the German language in the eighteenth century, when Frederick II. boasted of his ignorance of it, and prided himself on writing French as well as Voltaire? Certainly, it was Luther's language, but it was not that of the cultivated and refined classes. Let us go back in thought for forty years, what was Hungarian? The despised dialect of the pastors of the Puzta. German was the language of good society, and of the administration, and in the Diet, Latin was spoken. Magyar is to-day the language of Parliament, the press, the theatre, science, of the Academies, the University, of poetry and romance. Henceforth, as the official language, it is imposed, they say, even on peoples of another race, who do not wish for it, as in Croatia and Transylvania. Czech is in a fair way to take the



same position in Bohemia that Magyar does in Hungary. It is the same in the Croatian provinces. The Croat tongue, not long since merely a popular *patois*, has now its University at Agram, its poets, philosophers, press, and theatres. Servian, which is only Croat written in Oriental letters, has also become, in Servia, the official, literary, parliamentary, and scientific language, just like its elder brothers, German and French. It is the same with Bulgarian in Bulgaria and Roumelia, with Finnish in Finland, with Roumain in Roumania, with Polish in Galicia, and probably soon also with Flemish in Flanders.

"As always, the literary awakening precedes political claims. In a Constitutional Government, the Nationalist party must finally triumph, because the other parties vie with one another in granting them the greatest number of concessions and advantages, in order to obtain the support of their votes ; this is the case with Ireland.

"Tell me, if you think that any Government whatever can suppress a movement so deep, so universal, having its root in the very heart of the enslaved races, and developing certainly with the progress of what is called modern civilization? What must we do, then, in face of this irresistible impulse of the races demanding their own place under the sun? Must we centralize and compress as Schmerling and Bach have tried to do? It is now too late. There remains for you nothing but to compound with the different nationalities, as Count Taaffe desires to do, whilst protecting the rights of minorities."

"But," answered the Altgraf, "in Bohemia, we Germans are the minority, and the Czechs will pitilessly crush us."

On the following day I went to see M. de N., an influential member of parliament, belonging to the Conservative party. He seemed to me still more distressed than Altgraf Salm.

"I," he said, "am an Austrian of the old block, a pure black and yellow, what in your strange Liberal tongue you call a reactionary. My attachment to the Imperial family is absolute, because it is the common

centre-of all parts of the empire. I am attached to Count Taaffe, because he represents the Conservative party, but I deplore his Federalist policy, which is leading to the disintegration of Austria. Yes, I am so audacious as to believe that Metternich was not a downright blockhead. Our good friends the Italians reproach him with having said that Italy was only a geographical expression, but our empire, which he made so powerful and so happy, will no longer remain so if it is constantly broken up into fragments, smaller and smaller every day. It will no more be a State, but a kaleidoscope, a collection of dissolving views. You remember this verse of Dante—

‘ Quivi sospiri, pianti ed alti guai  
Risonavan per l’aer senza stelle;  
Diverse lingue, orribile favelle,  
Parole di dolore, accenti d’ira,  
Voci alte e fioche; e suon di man con elle?’

This is the pandemonium that we are preparing! Do you know how far this fury of dismemberment will be pushed? In Bohemia, the Germans, to escape from the tyranny of the Czechs, whom they fear in the future, ask for the separation and autonomy of the regions where their language prevails. The Czechs will never be willing to divide the glorious kingdom of St. Wenceslas, and here is a fresh cause of quarrels! These struggles between races are a return to barbarism. You are a Belgian, I am an Austrian; cannot we understand one another enough to administer together a business transaction or an institution?”

“Certainly,” I said; “at a certain level of culture the important point is agreement of sentiment, not conformity of language. But language is the medium of intellectual culture. The motto of one of our Flemish societies expresses that strongly—*De taal is gansch het volk* (‘The language makes the nation’). In my opinion, justice and virtue are the essential things; but without a language, without literature, the progress of civilization is impossible.”

I note a curious fact which shows how far this race

animosity is carried. The Czechs of Vienna, who are said to number 30,000, asked for a subsidy to found a school in which the teaching language should be Czech. The Rector of the University of Vienna supported the request in the Provincial Council. The students of the Czech University of Prague sent him an address of gratitude, but in what language? In Czech? No—the rector does not understand it. In German? Never—it is the language of the oppressor! In French, because it is a foreign tongue and therefore neutral. The very justifiable attitude of the rector roused so much indignation amongst his colleagues that he was compelled to resign.

I was very glad to meet Baron Kállay, because he is one of the most distinguished statesmen of the empire. He is of pure Magyar blood, descended from one of the companions of Arpad, who entered Hungary at the close of the ninth century. They are a family of good administrators, for they have known how to keep their fortune—valuable antecedent for a Minister of Finance! Still young, Kállay shows himself eager to learn everything. He works like a *privat-docent* and knows the Slav and Oriental languages. He has translated John Stuart Mill's "Liberty" into Magyar, and is a very distinguished member of the Hungarian Academy.

Having failed to be elected Deputy in 1866, he was made Consul at Belgrade, where he stayed eight years. The time he spent there was not lost to learning, for he collected materials for a history of Servia. In 1874 he was appointed Deputy to the Hungarian Diet, and took his seat with the Conservative party, which has become the present moderate Left. He started a journal, the *Kélet Népi* ("The People of the East"), where he traced the part that Hungary ought to play in Eastern Europe. Then came the Turco-Russian war (1876), followed by the occupation of Bosnia. The Magyars showed the warmest sympathy with the Turks, and the Opposition attacked the occupation with the greatest violence. The Hungarians were passionately opposed to it, because they saw in it an increase in

the number of the Slavs. The Government party itself dared not openly support Andrassy's policy, so strongly did they feel its unpopularity. Then Kállay rose in the Chamber to speak in its defence. He showed how, in his opinion, it was madness to pronounce in favour of the Turks. He proved clearly that the occupation of Bosnia was necessary on account of geographical conditions, and even from a Hungarian point of view, for it separated, like a wedge, Servia from Montenegro, and thus prevented the formation of a great Jougo-Slav State, which would exert an irresistible attraction upon Croats of the same race and language. At the same time, he explained his favourite idea, and spoke of the commercial and civilizing mission of Hungary in the East. This position, taken by a man who thoroughly understood the Balkan Peninsula and all the questions growing out of it, keenly irritated his party, which remained Turkophile for some time longer, but it made a deep impression in Hungary, and modified the current of opinion.

Count Andrassy designated him as Austrian representative in the Bulgarian Commission. Returning to Vienna, Kállay was made Chief of the Department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and brought out his "History of Servia" in Hungarian; it was translated into German and Servian, and acknowledged, even at Belgrade, as the best in existence. He also published an important pamphlet in German and Hungarian upon the aspirations of Russia in the East, during the last three centuries; he became Secretary of State under Chancellor Haymerlé, and his power increased rapidly.

So long as Count Szlavy, knowing little of the Trans-Danubian countries, was Minister of the Finances of the empire, and, as such, supreme administrator of Bosnia, the occupation gave unsatisfactory results. Great expenses, taxes badly collected, the money, it was said, sticking to the fingers of the officials, as in the time of the Turks. In consequence of the deficit and of the discontent of the two Trans- and Cis-leithanian parliaments, Count Szlavy gave

in his resignation. The Emperor held closely to Bosnia, in which he was not wrong. It was his own idea, his special possession. During his reign, Lombard-Venetia was lost and his empire diminished. Bosnia made compensation, and with this great advantage that it might be assimilated to Croatia, and thus consolidated into the State, which, for the Italian provinces, would have been forever impossible. The Emperor then sought the man who was needed to put the affairs of Bosnia on the right track. Baron Kállay was pointed out, and he replaced Szlávy. He went immediately to the occupied provinces, whose languages he could speak fluently. He conversed personally with all—Catholics, Orthodox, and Mohammedans. He re-assured the Turkish proprietors, inspired the peasants with patience, reformed abuses, drove the robbers from the temple, reduced the expenses, and, consequently, the deficit. Enormous work ! to clean the Augean stables of an Ottoman province.

He has acted with infinite tact and diplomacy, but with pitiless firmness. To make a watch go well there is nothing like a perfect knowledge of the works. Recently, he was warned of a cloud on the side of Montenegro. A new insurrection was feared. He set off there at once ; but not to rouse suspicion he took his wife. She is as intelligent as she is beautiful, and as brave as intelligent, the quality of her race—a Countess Bethlen ; she is descended from the hero of Transylvania, Bethlen Gabor. Their journey through Bosnia was an idyll and a triumph ; but whilst going from ovation to ovation, they trampled out the flame that was going to set the powder on fire. Since then, it is said, that everything there goes on better and better. At any rate, the deficit has disappeared, the Emperor is delighted, and every one says that, if he can retain Bosnia, he owes it to Kállay, and that a distinguished part is reserved for him in the future guidance of the empire.

He has dreamed of a great destiny for Hungary, but he is no Jingo. He is prudent, reflective, and acquainted with the pitfalls on the way. He has not been over the

great roads of the East for nothing. I went to call on him at his offices, situated on the second floor in a small street behind Hôtel Munsch. The entrance is by a narrow, dark, wooden staircase. Whilst going up I thought of the magnificence of the palace of the railway company, and I liked this the best.

I was astonished to find Baron Kállay so young; he is only forty-five. The empire was formerly governed by old men; it is now in the hands of young ones; it is this which gives it the mark of energy and decision. Hungarians hold the reins, and there still flows in their veins the ardour of primitive races and the decision of the knight. I seemed to breathe throughout Austria the air of renewal. It is like the buds of spring crowning a venerable trunk.

Kállay spoke first of the *zadrugas*, which I was going to see again, and to which he has given great attention. "Since you published your book on primitive property, which," he said, "was quite correct when it appeared, many changes have occurred. The patriarchal family, fixed upon the collective and inalienable domain, is rapidly disappearing. I regret it, like you. But what can be done?" He advised me to visit Bosnia. "We are reproached," he said, "with not having settled the agrarian question. But events in Ireland prove how difficult it is to settle problems of this kind. In Bosnia we have the further complication of a conflict between Mussulman law and our Western legislation. It is only by going to the places and studying the situation close to, that it is possible to understand the difficulties which stop you at every step. Thus, in virtue of the Turkish law, the State owns all the forests, and I guard this right vigilantly, and hope I may be able to preserve them. But, on the other hand, the villagers claim, according to Slav custom, the right of using the forests of the Crown. If they only took the wood they need, it would do no harm, but they cut down the trees without any discrimination; then come the goats which eat the young shoots, and thus hinder any renewal. These mischievous animals are the scourge of the country.

Wherever they come we find only brushwood. We are making a law for the preservation of the immense forests which are necessary in so mountainous a country, but how can we enforce it? It would require an army of guards and struggles constantly everywhere.

"The lack in this beautiful country so favoured by nature is a 'gentry' capable, like that of Hungary, of setting an example of agricultural progress. I will give you an instance. In my youth on our lands only a heavy wooden plough was employed, dating from Triptolemus. After 1848 the *corvée* was abolished, hand labour became dearer, and we had ourselves to till the ground. Then we sent for the best American iron ploughs, and they are now in use everywhere, even amongst the peasantry. Austria is called to a great mission in Bosnia, from which the whole of Europe will benefit, perhaps even more than ourselves. She must justify the occupation by civilizing the country."

"As for myself," I answered, "I have always defended, in opposition to my friends, the English Liberals, the necessity of annexing Bosnia and Herzegovina to Dalmatia, and I demonstrated it at a time when it was but little spoken of.\* But the essential thing is to make railways and roads to connect the interior with the ports of the coast. The Serajevo-Mostar-Fort Opus line is of paramount importance."

"Certainly," answered Baron Kállay, "*ma i danari*, we cannot do everything in a day. We have just finished the Brod-Serajevo line; this enables you to go from Vienna to the centre of Bosnia by rail. I imagine you will not complain of that. It is one of the first benefits of the occupation, and its results will be enormous."

I spoke to Baron Kállay of a speech which he had just delivered to the Academy at Pesth. He there developed his favourite idea that Hungary has a great mission to perform. Eastern by the origin of the Magyars, Western by ideas and institutions, she should serve as the intermediary and link between East and West. This provoked

\* "La Prusse et l'Autriche depuis Sadowa," vol. ii. c. 6. 1869.

a flood of attacks in the Slav and German papers against Magyar pride. "They imagine, these Hungarians, that their country is the centre of the whole world (*Ungarischer Globus*). Let them return to their steppes, these Asiatics, these Tartars, these cousins of the Turks!"

Amongst all these extravagances I noticed a few words in a book by Count Zay; he paints well this ardent patriotism of the Hungarians which is their honour and strength, but which, developing in them a spirit of domination, makes them detested by other races. Here is the quotation: "The Magyar loves his country and his nationality more than humanity, more than liberty, more than himself, more than God, more than his eternal salvation."

Kállay restrains these exaggerations of Chauvinism. "They did not understand me," he said, "and they did not wish to understand me. I never intended to talk of politics in a literary and scientific society. I simply stated an indisputable fact. Placed at the meeting-point of a crowd of different races, and precisely because we speak a dialect, not Indo-Germanic, Asiatic if you like, we are obliged to know all the languages of Western Europe, and at the same time, by the mysterious influences of descent, the East is more easily accessible and comprehensible to us. I have noticed it often. I understand an Oriental writing better when I put it into Hungarian than when I read it in an English or German translation."

Although I did not come to study the present economic condition of affairs in Austria, I have received a very favourable impression about it. Without allowing myself to be dazzled by the splendour of Vienna, which I rather regret as a symptom of social centralization and concentration of wealth, I am convinced that agriculture and trade have made great progress. The external situation seems excellent. Austria is the pivot of European politics. Certainly Prince Bismarck leads the game with a high hand, but the Austrian alliance is his trump card.

Austria needs the help of Germany, but Germany has still greater need of Austria, because the newly constituted



Empire of the Hohenzollern has a certain enemy in the West, and a possible one in the East. Backed by Austria, it is strong enough to look both ways at once; it will not then be attacked. But this is on condition that Austria remains faithful.

Internally, Austria is manifestly drifting towards a federal form of government, but far from regarding this, like the German-Austrians, as an evil and a danger, I am persuaded that it is an advantage both for the empire itself and for Europe.

The nationalities in Hungary, Bohemia, and Croatia have gained so much strength and life that it is no longer possible to destroy or to blend them. It is even impossible to compress them, at least without suppressing all liberty, all autonomy, and crushing them with an iron yoke. When the nationalities were like the "Sleeping Beauty," wrapped in lethargic trance, under Maria Theresa and Metternich, a kind and paternal government might have prepared the way insensibly for a more united rule. Now anything of that kind is no longer possible. Any attempt at centralization would meet with furious, desperate resistance, and it would have to be overcome by a despotism so pitiless, that the hatred it would excite would imperil even the existence of the empire. Thus liberty leads necessarily to Federalism.

It is also, theoretically, the best form of government. We meet with it at the outset amongst the free peoples of Greece and Germany, for example, and, at the present time, amongst the freest and most democratic nations, the United States and Switzerland. This form of government allows of the formation of an immense, and even indefinitely extensible State, by the union of forces—*viribus unitis*, as the Austrian motto expresses it—without sacrificing the special originality, the individual life, the local spontaneity of the provinces which compose the nation. Already the most enlightened minds in Spain particularly, in Italy, even in France, and recently in England, are asking that a large share of the prerogatives of the central power shall be restored to the provinces.

What great and noble examples have the United Provinces of the Low Country given to the world! What commercial development! How happy the condition of the citizens! What a part have they played in history, out of all proportion to the number of their inhabitants or the extent of their territory! What a terrible contrast between federalized Spain before Charles V. and the centralized Spain of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries!

For defence federalized Austria would lose nothing of her power so long as the whole army shall be under the control of the head of the State. But the Government would be less ready to rush into a policy of aggression, because it would have to consider the tendencies of the different nationalities who would have various and sometimes opposing views on external questions. The progress of Federalism in Austria would thus result in increasing the guarantees of peace.

The monetary system in Austria is very little improved. The circulating medium is notes depreciated 20 per cent., with absurdly small ones even for change. I wished to discuss this important subject with M. Sueiss the learned Professor of Geology in the Vienna University, who has written a very remarkable book upon the future of gold, "Die Zukunft des Goldes." To my great regret I learned that he was absent.

I explained to an Austrian financier that it depends on his country to put an end to the monetary contraction which is leading everywhere to a fall in prices, and thus rendering the economic crisis more severe, also affecting the monetary standard in Austria, which is silver. What would be necessary to restore to this metal its former value 60½d. the English ounce, or 200 francs the kilog.—at 9-10ths fine? It would be enough if the mints of the United States, France, and Germany would grant free coinage to the two precious metals at the legal ratio of 1 to 15½. America, France, Spain, Italy, and Holland are ready to sign a monetary convention on this basis if Germany will consent to follow it. Everything, then,

depends on the resolution of the German Chancellor. If Austria, by means of some concessions of customs and by herself entering the bi-metallist union, can lead Prince Bismarck into this path, she will reap incalculable benefit from it. In providing herself with silver she could easily substitute a metallic currency for her fiduciary and depreciated one. She would no longer have to pay the considerable and increasing premium upon gold which she must find for the interest of the stipulated loan in gold. With silver restored to its former value, she could procure gold without any loss. She would thus accomplish, without paying a farthing, the reconstitution of her circulation, which Italy has only obtained at a great cost.

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## CHAPTER II.

### BISHOP STROSSMAYER.

ONE of my objects in travelling was to study anew the curious forms of primitive ownership, the family communities or zadrugas which are preserved among the Southern Slavs, and of which I have given a detailed account in my book on "Primitive Property." I visited them carefully fifteen years ago, but I am told that they are rapidly disappearing, and that those who desire to see this interesting form of the ancient family constitution which was once universal, and lasted in France until the eighteenth century, must set about it at once.

Having accepted the kind invitation of Bishop Strossmayer to visit the zadrugas upon his estate, I went straight from Vienna to Essek.

When I got out of the train I saw a young priest coming towards me, followed by a magnificent pandour dressed in brown pantaloons and jacket covered with red and black braid. The Abbé is a secretary of Bishop Strossmayer, from whom he brought a letter of welcome.

This priest, accompanied by his hussars, is a picture of Hungary in the olden time, when the magnates kept a whole army of servants, who waited upon them in time of peace, and followed them to the battle-field in time of war. These were the famous hussars who saved the crown of Maria Theresa (*Moriamur pro rege nostro*), and

who, in 1848, would have dethroned her descendants but for the intervention of Russia.

A light open victoria was waiting for us outside the station, drawn by four dappled greys of the breed of Lipitça, the Imperial stud, which is situated near Trieste in the Karst, that strange region where the great scattered rocks resemble the ruins of some Cyclopean edifice. English blood is mixed with Arab in order to give size; the dry air they breathe—which becomes very keen when the north wind blows—strengthens their lungs, and free exercise over rocks and slopes toughens their sinews. These horses are preferred by cavalry officers. The four we drove were charming, with straight hocks, well held tails, high and flexible pasterns, small heads, and large eyes full of fire; gentle as lambs, they stood perfectly still, but when we prepared to start their nostrils dilated, they became excited, pawed the ground, and sprang forward. The pandour could hardly hold them, and they reproduced exactly the group of the horses of Castor and Pollux on the Piazza del Quirinale. We started, and the noble animals bounded away, rejoicing in the use of their strength and youth.

I expressed a fear to the Abbé that the drive was somewhat long.

"No," he answered, "the thirty-six kilomètres from Essek to Djakovo will take us two hours and a half."

I have always been astonished at the pace of Hungarian horses; it seems natural to them to trot. They hate walking, or, if compelled to do so by the badness of the road, they appear humiliated, become sulky, and sometimes refuse to go on. Even the thin jades of the poor labourers always trot. One cause of this appears to be the custom, general in Danubian countries, of letting the foal run behind the mother when she is again in harness. Thus, in leaving Essek where it had been market-day, we saw the road filled with vehicles returning to the neighbouring villages, and many of these were accompanied by foals, which trotted gaily after them, jumping like goats; thus they gain the

breath and paces of their parents. Exercise develops their hereditary qualities.

The peasants of South-eastern Europe, from the Leitha to the Black Sea, use the same kind of cart which I have even met with in the heart of Russia. It is shown in the ancient bas-reliefs, and nothing can be simpler or better suited to the conditions of the country; two long planks form the bottom of the body, which is furnished on each side with a kind of ladder, and kept in its place by means of bent pieces of wood fixed on the outside of the axles by long naves so as perfectly to hinder it from slipping. No seats; straw or green fodder, of which a part is intended for the team, takes their place. Everything is of wood. In Hungary the axle is of iron, but in Russia and the Balkans it also is of wood. The wheels are high and light, and the carriage weighs so little that a child can move it, and a man can carry it on his back. For gathering in the harvest they are sometimes made larger and heavier, but the type is still the same.

We drove on a very wide road. Although the centre was macadamized, the peasants, and even our driver, preferred to use the sides, because the soil, trodden down and hardened by the horses' feet, becomes like asphalt. .

The country we passed through was level and thoroughly cultivated; the corn was the finest that could be seen, the blades were like the leaves of reeds. The ground which had not been sown with wheat or oats was filled with maize or left fallow. There were no farm-houses amidst the holdings, they stand together in villages. The German economists call this the *Dorfsystem*. There are two causes for this grouping; firstly, the necessity of union for defence; secondly, the ancient custom of the periodical redistribution of the collective lands of the commune amongst its inhabitants. If in some countries—England, Holland, Belgium, and the North of France—farm buildings are placed in the middle of the fields which belong to them, it is because private property and security have long existed there.

Our beautiful team, which drew us rapidly along, reminded me of a tale which was told to me at Pesth, and which depicts the Hungary of other days. A bishop was crossing the bridge of boats over the Danube leading to Buda, royally reclining in a splendid carriage drawn by six horses. He was a Count Batthyany.

A Liberal Deputy exclaimed: "Your Excellency seems to forget that your predecessors, the apostles of your Master, Jesus, walked barefoot."

"You are right," answered the Count; "as a bishop I should certainly walk, but as a Hungarian magnate six horses is the least I can use, and, unhappily, the bishop is obliged to accompany the magnate."

I imagine that Bishop Strossmayer would give a better reason. He would say that he manages the land of the episcopal domain, that he has established a stud and sells the horses, and so helps to improve the breed and to increase the wealth of the country, which is in accordance with the most elementary economic rules. Raising many horses makes it necessary that they should be exercised and groomed. I shall not complain of this, for it was a pleasure to see these charming animals, always spirited, increasing their paco as they approached their stable.

We stopped for a few minutes at the village of Siroko-Polje, where the young priest wished to see his mother. We went to her house. The widow of a small farmer, she occupied a labourer's house, rather better kept than the others. The houses in the Hungarian villages, in contrast to ours, turn to the road, not their gables, but their side in the sense of length, the front face, with the verandah on wooden columns, looks into the yard, where the usual collection of various fowls, chicken, ducks, and geese, wander about.

All the houses of the village were, like this, plastered and recently white-washed, so that it was impossible to tell if they were built of bricks or clay. They are always raised upon a stone basement. The room in which the

widow received us was both the drawing-room and the visitors' bedroom. Upon the carefully whitened walls were coloured prints, representing the saints and Bible incidents. Muslin curtains hung by the windows; the two large beds with thick mattresses were covered with a heavy wadded counterpane, quilted and covered with red and black cotton; on the table was a linen cover embroidered with bright-coloured wools; a large sofa and some wooden chairs completed the furniture.

The widow no longer wore the picturesque costume of the country, but a jacket and skirt of dark blue cotton like those of the countrywomen in the North of France. She spoke no German, only the Croat tongue; through her son I questioned her about the zadrugas.

"In my youth," she said, "the greater number of families remained together, and cultivated in common the family property; they supported and helped each other. If one of the sons was called to the army, the others did his work; and as he knew that his place at the common table was always waiting for him, he returned as soon as possible. Now that the zadruga is destroyed, when our young people go away, they remain in the large towns. The home, with its evenings of companionship, its songs, and festivals, no longer recalls them. The small households, who live alone, are unable to bear an illness or a bad year, especially now that the taxes are so heavy. If an accident happens they fall into debt and are plunged into poverty. It is young women and their luxuries which are the ruin of our old and wise institutions; they wish to have jewels, stuffs, shoes, which are brought round by the hawkers; to buy these they must have money, so they are vexed if the husband does more work than the others for the community. 'If he kept everything for himself we should be richer,' thinks the wife. Thence come reproaches and quarrels. Family life becomes a hell; they separate. Then each must have a fire, a stewpot, a yard, a stock-keeper. The evenings are solitary and dreary. The husband feels dull and goes to the tavern. Tho



woman, left alone, also, sometimes falls into irregularities. And then, sir, if you knew what rubbish it is that the merchants sell so dear! Ugly jewels of coloured glass and gilded copper, which are not worth two kreutzers, whilst the necklaces of gold and silver pieces that we used to wear, kept their value and were much more becoming. By strict economy the young girls of my time gained, from the sale of the embroidery and stuffs which they made, a nice dowry in sequins and thalers of Maria Theresa, which they wore on their head, and round their neck and waist, and which glittered in the sun, so that husbands were never lacking for those who were skilful, industrious, and economical. Instead of our good strong tunics in tough and durable linen, which were so pretty with their embroideries in blue, red, and black wool, they bring us now chemises of fine glazed cotton, shining like silk, but which are in holes and rags after twice washing.

“You know our national shoe, the *opanka*, a solid piece of buffalo leather, very thick, fastened to the foot by crossed leather laces. We made it ourselves; it kept in its place and lasted for a long time. Our young people are beginning to wear boots from Vienna; they go out; it rains, our ground then becomes as sticky as mortar—the boots stick there or are lost. On Sunday, or in winter, we wear, above our tunic, a jacket of coarse wool or sheepskin, with the fleece inside, which we ornament with patterns of small bits of very bright-coloured leather, stitched on with silver or gold thread. Nothing was more beautiful, and it was handed down from one generation to another; to-day, those who wish to hold their head high and imitate the Austrians, wear cotton, silk, or velvet; trumpery articles which fade in the sun, spoil in the rain, and fall into holes in the elbows and back with the least wear. All this seems very cheap in comparison, for we must work for months and months to make one of our garments; but I hold that it is very dear, for the money goes out of our pockets, and the things, scarcely bought, are already worn out. And then our winter evenings, what will they do with them in

the future? Twirl the thumbs and spit in the fire! And our old songs, that we sang in the evenings, whilst all worked together round a large bright hearth, will be forgotten. Already the children who learn new ones at school think the old ones stupid, and will not have them any more. Learned men like you, sir, say that everything is changing from good to better, I am only an ignorant woman, but I see what I see. There are now in our villages poor people, drunkards, and bad women, which were unknown formerly; we pay twice as many taxes as before, and yet our cows have only one calf, and the stalk of maize only one or two ears. It is my opinion that everything changes from bad to worse."

"But," I said to her, "you wear the foreign dress that you so rightly blame."

"It is true, Excellency; but when one has the happiness and honour to be the mother of a priest, one must give up dressing like a peasant."

After we had taken a glass of light sweet red wine, that the kind old woman had made from the grapes of her own vineyard, and which she offered us with good-will, we returned to the carriage. I said to the young priest:

"Your mother is right. There is much good in the dress and local customs adapted to the special conditions of different peoples. I regret their disappearance, not only as an artist, but as an economist. They are given up for those of the West, because the latter represent civilization and fashion; this is the reason that led your mother to cast off her national costume. What is named progress is a powerful engine which destroys all ancient customs in its irresistible advance, and which is going to make humanity into one uniform mass, whose units will exactly resemble each other, from Paris to Calcutta, from London to Honolulu. With the national and traditional dress nothing is lost, whilst the continual change of style ruins the manufacturers, constantly throws a quantity of goods on their hands, and excites the craving for luxury and expense. A celebrated economist, J. B. Say, has expressed this exactly, 'The

rapid change of fashion impoverishes a State, both by what it uses and what it does not use.' "

The Abbé replied, "Our great Bishop Strossmayer does all he can to uphold our home industries. Certainly he will relate what he has attempted in that way."

Between Siroko-Polje and Djakovo we passed over a low hill ; it was the almost imperceptible watershed of Sirmia between the Drave and the Save. On some parts the fine growths of wheat were replaced by woods ; only, nothing but brushwood remains. The large trees are lying on the ground, and they are to be sold in lots. Alas ! the fertility of the soil was shown by the abundance of grass which was growing between the stumps. A herd of oxen and horses were grazing there.

The road soon leads between two magnificent rows of Italian poplars ; on the right is a wood of tall trees, enclosed by high wooden railings ; it is the deer park. We are approaching the episcopal residence, and have reached Djakovo. In Hungarian the Slav termination *vo* becomes *var*. We should call it a large village. It is a market-town, *Marktflecken*, as the Germans say. There are about 4,000 inhabitants, all Croats, with a few hundred Jews amongst them, who are the rich men of the place.

"It is they," said the Abbé, "who do all the business, both retail and wholesale, and also the wholesale purchase of agricultural products—wood, wool, domestic animals, game, everything indeed, even to fowls and eggs. Credit and money are in their hands. They carry on the banking business, both for large and small sums. These well-built houses that you see in the principal street, these shops for grocery, for drapery, for hardware, for millinery, are all in their hands, as well as our only hotel and most of the butchers' shops. Out of sixteen shops that we have in Djakovo, only two belong to Christians. We must confess that the Jews are more active than we. Also, they think of nothing but making money."

"But," I answered, "Christians, with us, do not try to lose, and I imagine it is the same in Croatia."

We entered the court of the Bishop's palace. I was overpowered with emotion at again seeing this noble old man—the great apostle of the Jougo-Slavs. He embraced me affectionately, and said: "Friend and brother, you are welcome here; you are amongst friends and brethren."

He took me to my room and told me to rest until supper to recover from the fatigue of the night in the train. The room I occupied was very large; the furniture, tables, sofas, drawers, all very large, were of walnut wood in the Viennese style. Through the open window I saw a park full of fine trees—oaks, beech, and pine trees. A large acacia, quite covered with its clusters of drooping white flowers, filled the air with its spreading fragrance. Before a nice greenhouse a large quantity of all kinds of exotic plants were placed; they were watered every evening by the gardeners. Nothing reminded me that I was in the depths of Slavonia. I took advantage of these two quiet hours, the first since I left home, to recall all that I know concerning my illustrious host.

The first time I visited Croatia I had not heard his name. I saw his likeness everywhere, in the booksellers' windows at Agram and Carlstadt, in all the inns, in the labourers' houses, and even in the little villages of the Military Boundaries. When I heard all that he had done to promote the growth of education, of literature and art, amongst the Jougo-Slavs, I was amazed. Unknown, with no letter of introduction, I dared not go to see him, but since then one of my warmest wishes has always been to meet him. I had this good fortune, not in Croatia, but in Rome. In December, 1878, he went to confer with the Pope about the management of ecclesiastical affairs in Bosnia. The illustrious Italian statesman, Marco Minghetti, invited me to meet him at breakfast. When I was presented to him, Strossmayer said: "I have seen what you have written about my country in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. You are a friend of the Slavs, therefore you are mine also. Come and see me at Djakovo; we will talk together."

This extraordinary man made a profound impression upon me. I will repeat some details of this interview, because Strossmayer's policy is that of the most enlightened patriot of his country. He appeared to me like a saint of the Middle Ages, such as Fra Angelico painted on the walls of the cells of San Marco in Florence. His face was refined, thin, ascetic; his light hair, brushed back, surrounded his head like a halo; his grey eyes were clear, luminous, inspired. A sharp yet gentle flame beamed from them, the reflection of a great intellect and a noble heart. His speech is easy, glowing, full of imagery; but, although he speaks French, German, Italian, and Latin, besides the Slav languages with equal ease, no one of these dialects can furnish him with terms sufficiently expressive for the complete rendering of his thought, and so he uses them by turns. He takes from each the word, the epithet, he needs, or he even uses the synonyms that come from them all. It is when he finally arrives at Latin that his sentences flow with unequalled breadth and power. He says precisely what he thinks, without reticence, without diplomatic reserve, with the abandon of a child, and the insight of genius. Entirely devoted to his country, desiring nothing for himself, he fears no one here below; as he seeks only what he believes to be good, just, and true, he has nothing to conceal.

During his stay in Rome he was entirely occupied with the prospects of Bosnia.

"You are right," he said to me, "to maintain, contrary to the opinion of your friends, the English Liberals, that the annexation of the Bosnian Provinces is a necessity; but whether it will be an advantage to Austria will depend upon the policy they pursue. If Vienna, or rather Pesth, means to govern the new provinces by Hungarians or Germans, and for their profit, the Austrians will finish by being more hated than the Turks. The population is exclusively Slav; the national feeling must be sustained and raised. The Magyar and German papers say that I am the friend of Austria's enemy, Russia. This is a calumny.

For our dear old Austria I would give my life at once. It is in her bosom that we Western Slavs ought to live and grow to attain our destiny. Some years ago at Vienna they wished to Germanize us. To-day at Pesth they dream of Magyarizing us—that is equally impossible. It is impossible to take away language and nationality from a numerous race, occupying extensive contiguous territory, where there is room for thirty or forty millions of people. Those who would attempt it, or would arrest our legitimate development, are the only ones who work for Russia. The Hungarians are a heroic race; they have political capacity. They have shown admirable perseverance in regaining their autonomy; now they really govern the empire, but their hatred of the Slavs and their Magyar Chauvinism sometimes blinds them completely. They ought openly to show a leaning towards us, otherwise they will be drowned in the Pan-Slavic ocean.”

I reminded him that at my first visit to Agram I found the Croat patriots, returning from the famous Ethnographic Exhibition at Moscow, all on fire, and openly showing their sympathy for Russia.

“It is true,” said the Bishop; “at that time the Deak Settlement, the *Ausgleich* between Trans- and Cis-leithania, which had left us entirely to the mercy of the Magyars, had roused the fears of the Croats to the greatest possible extent. But since then this fancy in favour of Russia has disappeared. Only it returns every time that Austro-Hungary, either on the borders of the Save and the Bosna or beyond the Danube, endeavours to oppose the legitimate development of the Slav races. If they are driven to extremities, they will inevitably cry unanimously, ‘Rather the Russians than the Magyars.’ Listen, my friend, there are ‘two great European questions: the question of nationalities and the social question. We must raise the depressed peoples and the disinherited classes. Christianity brings the solution, for it commands us to help the humble and poor. We are all brethren, but the brotherhood, instead of being merely a word, must become a fact.’ ”

After Strossmayer had left us, Minghetti said, "I have had the opportunity of conversing with all the eminent men of our day; there are two who give me the impression that they belong to a different species—these are Bismarck and Strossmayer."

I will give some details about this great Bishop who has done so much for the future of the Jougo-Slavs. It is a strange thing, but I am told that his biography is not yet written, except perhaps in the Croat language.

Joseph George Strossmayer was born at Essek, on Feb. 4, 1815, in a well-to-do family which had come to Linz in 1700. As the name indicates, they were of German origin, but became so completely Croat that they no longer spoke anything but the Croat tongue. It has been regretted that the Jougo-Slavs needed a German to head their national movement. It is often so. Kossuth, the most brilliant representative of Magyarism, is of Slav blood; Rieger, the principal promoter of the Czech movement, is of German blood; Conscience, the most eminent initiator of the Flemish movement, had a French father.

Strossmayer went through his classes of education at the college at Essek with the greatest brilliancy. He then studied theology, first at the Seminary at Djakovo, and afterwards at the University of Pesth, where again he passed his examinations with a wholly exceptional success. In the one for dogmatics, he showed so much knowledge and dialectic power, that the president of the examining board said to his colleagues, "*Aut primus hereticus sæculi, aut prima columna catholicæ ecclesiæ.*" It was not the fault of Pius IX. and the Vatican Council if the first part of the prophecy was not fulfilled. In 1837 he was appointed Vicar of Peterwardein. Three years after he went to the higher school of theology, the Augustinium at Vienna, where he gained the title of Doctor, with the praises of the examiners, "who could not find words to express their admiration."

After having filled for a short time the office of professor in the episcopal school of his native town, he was appointed

in 1847 to direct the Augustinium, and was at the same time appointed Court preacher. This was a very high position for his age, which was hardly thirty. For several years he had watched the reawakening of the Croat nationality with the warmest sympathy. It was during his stay at Vienna that he began to write in defence of the cause to which he has since then devoted his life. In 1849, Kukovitch, Bishop of Djakovo, retired, and the Emperor named Strossmayer as his successor. The Imperial Court was then filled with gratitude to the Croats, whose blood had freely flowed for them on the battle-fields of Italy and Hungary. The two most influential defenders of the rights of Croatia, Baron Metellus Ozegovitch and the Ban Jel-lachitch had eagerly supported Strossmayer, with whose devotion to their common country they were well acquainted. It is a curious coincidence that seven years before, the young priest told his bishop, in a letter which is still preserved at Djakovo, that he should succeed him.

The first ten years of his episcopate were spent under the Minister Bach. A great effort was then made to centralize all the parts of the empire, and to Germanize the different races. Strossmayer thoroughly understood, and it is this which gives him everlasting glory, that to defeat all such attempts the national sentiment must be aroused and strengthened by intellectual culture, by the development of literature, and by a return to the historic traditions of the nation.

The motto which he chose, and which is not in Latin as is customary, but in Croat, sums up the work of his life, "*Sve za vjeru i domovinu*" ("Everything for faith and country"). His whole life has been consecrated to its translation into acts beneficial to his country. At first he gave large sums to found scholarships, so that the sons of poor parents might be able to study the humanities. He thus endowed almost all the Croat colleges; amongst others, those of Essek, Varasdin, Fiume, Vinkovce, Seny, Gospitch, and, later, the University of Agram. At Djakovo itself his gifts towards education are unceasing and consi-



derable. He has founded there a college, a higher school for girls, a normal school for girls, a seminary for Bosnians, and all these are kept up at his expense. Later he organized also a normal school for teachers, and that alone cost £8,000 for the first outlay. He spares nothing that may help on the growth of the various Jongo-Slav literatures. He patronized in every way the makers of the acknowledged Servian language, Vuk Karadzitch and Danichitch ; also the two brothers, Miladinovci, who were received into his home, and who worked there at their collection of popular Bulgarian songs, one of the first books brought out in that language, and which prepared for the awakening of that young nationality. He founded and endowed a chair in his Episcopal Seminary for the study of the ancient Slav languages. At the same time, he began to collect the vast library that he intends to leave to the various schools of Djakovo, and the collection of pictures that he has given to Agram.

An enthusiast for art, he goes to Italy to admire its marvels and to bring back some specimens, every time that he requires rest for the sake of his health. All the institutions, all the publications, all the literary men who have occupied themselves with Croatia, have received his generous support.

Although always ready to defend the rights of his country, this great patriot has only entered the political arena in obedience to a duty that was imposed upon him. After the fall of the Minister Bach, when the constitutional era was beginning at Vienna, the Emperor appointed Strossmayer and Baron Wranicanji members of the Reichstag. They demanded with the greatest energy the complete autonomy of Croatia under all circumstances. I have always thought that a rational and durable rule might then have been established in Austria, resting on the historic independence of the different States, but with a central parliament for their common affairs, as in Switzerland and the United States. The propitious moment was allowed to pass, and after Sadowa, they had to submit to the *Ausgleich* and the dualism imposed by Hungary. The empire

was cut in two, and Croatia was given over to Pesth. When the negotiations to decide the relationship between Hungary and Croatia began, it was thought necessary to send away Strossmayer, who would not, for any price, sacrifice the autonomy of his country, founded upon the traditions of its history. He passed the time of his exile in Paris, where he devoted himself to a special study of the great French writers. Since his return to Djakovo, during the last fifteen years, he has scrupulously refrained from all political action; he will not even sit on the Diet of Croatia, so that he may not be accused of lending the support of his sympathy to the agitation and opposition which are fermenting in the country. It is known at Pesth and Vienna that he deplores the present form of union between Croatia and Hungary. They say that his views are those of the "Independents" (*Neodvisne stranke*), whose chiefs are men highly esteemed in their own country and throughout Austria—the President of the Academy, Racki, and Count Vojnoritch; but the Bishop of Djakovo stands aside. He thinks that by reviving intellectual and scientific life, the future of his nation will be secured. The work of the mind is unassailable and indestructible. In this domain force is powerless. "So acting," he has somewhere said, "nothing, no, nothing in the world can prevent us from accomplishing the mission to which Providence seems to call us amongst our blood relations in the Balkan Peninsula."

Already, in 1860, Strossmayer had pointed out the need of an Academy of Science and Art at Agram, and he started the public subscription with a gift of £8,000, which he considerably increased. Since then the whole country has responded to his appeal. More than £32,000 was collected, and on July 28, 1867, the new establishment of which Croatia is justly proud, was inaugurated. The great Bishop then gave a discourse which has become celebrated, in which he eulogized the genius of Bossuet and Pascal in terms of magnificent eloquence. The Academy has published sixty-seven volumes of its annals, entitled *Rad—* "Work"—specially devoted to the history of Croatia, and

it has begun to publish a large dictionary of the Croat language, on the model of Grimm and Littré.

In the month of April, 1867, Strossmayer pointed out to the Diet of Agram the need of a University for Croatia, and put £6,000 at the disposal of his country for this cause. In September, 1866, on which the three hundredth anniversary of the Croat Leonidas, the Ban Nicholas Zrinski, was celebrated, he gave an address, which, circulating everywhere, raised an indescribable enthusiasm in favour of an essentially scientific work. The subscription soon reached £20,000, and the university was inaugurated on October 19, 1874. The rejoicings were for their noble originator more than a triumph; they were an apotheosis, and never has it been better merited. The Ban, or Governor-General, Ivan Maruvanitch, who presided at the ceremony, was the best epic poet of Croatia. The delegates of the other universities, especially those of the literary or political societies of the Austrian, and even of the Trans-Danubian Slavs, had assembled in great numbers at Agram. The town was dressed with flags; an immense crowd filled the streets. A unanimous cry was heard, "Hail to the Great Bishop!" "Long life to the Father of his Country."

In the West of Europe, where centres of education are plentiful, we can hardly understand the importance of the creation of a university; but for the Jugo-Slav peoples, so long oppressed, it was a solemn affirmation of the national idea, and a guarantee for the future of their mental development. It was for this, in the sixteenth century, that the Reformation insisted on the foundation of universities in Germany, Holland, and Scotland. Whilst still struggling for existence at Ghent, the Flemish Protestants, with their necks, so to speak, under the axe of Spain, took advantage of some months of liberty to found university courses, as has been shown by the professor of history at Ghent, M. Paul Fredericq. The higher teaching is the fountain from which flow the intellectual activities of the nations.

In religion, Strossmayer is a Christian according to the gospel, an adversary of intolerance, a friend of liberty, of enlightenment, of progress in all forms, entirely devoted to his people, and especially to the poor. It is not forgotten with what energy and eloquence he contested the new dogma of Papal Infallibility. Latterly he has been endeavouring to bring about a reconciliation between the Eastern and Western Churches. Two of his last Lenten charges (1881, 1882) have been devoted to an exposition of his views on this subject. It is certainly under his inspiration that the Vatican has recently exalted the two great apostles of the Slavs, St. Cyril and St. Methodius, whom the Eastern Church specially venerates.

In Strossmayer we admire the virtues of the saint, with the tastes of the artist. All selfish feeling is crushed out, no egotism and no ambition; his life is a daily devotion, he has no thought which is not for the good of his fellows and the future of his country. Who has ever done more than he for the re-awakening of a nationality, and with so much insight and efficacy? Amongst the noble figures who in this age bring honour to humanity, I do not know his superior. Croatia may be proud of her son.

The Bishop came to take me to supper. We traversed an immense gallery filled from end to end with cases of pictures. I turned to him for an explanation.

"You know," he said, "that we have founded a museum at Agram. When I have had a little spare money, I have bought each time that I went to Italy, some pictures for this museum, which is one of the dreams of my life. This dream is about to be realized. But see the misery and contradiction of human things; it becomes the cause of real sorrow to me, trifling perhaps, but I must confess, real. To give my revenue is no trouble to me. The fortune of the bishopric is the patrimony of the poor; I administer it, and employ it in the best way I can. I deprive myself of nothing, for I have scarcely any personal wants; but my pictures, my dear pictures, it is hard to part with them. I know them all; I remember when I bought them; I love

them ; it rests me to look at them, for I have much—doubtless too much—of the tastes of the artist ; and now they are going away—they must go away. At Agram the young pupils of the Academy are waiting to copy them, and to be inspired by them ; they need them. Without the efflorescence of the fine arts a nationality is incomplete. We have a university, we shall have science ; we must have also architecture, painting, and sculpture. I am old ; I have not long to live ; I thought I should keep them till my death, but that is a selfish thought of which I repent. Next year, if you go to Agram, you will see them there. Here we see just coming M. Krsujavi, Professor of *Æsthetics* and the History of Art in the Agram University. He is also director of our Museum, and of a School of Industrial Art that we have just founded. He has come here to pack carefully all this canvas, which will henceforth be confided to his care.”

We looked at the pictures which were still in their place. There are two hundred and eighty-four of them, of which several are excellent—by Titian, Caracci, Guido Reni, Sasso Ferrato, Paul Veronese, Fra Angelico, Ghirlandajo, Fra Bartolommeo, Durer, Andrea Schiavone (“the Slav” who was a Croat, and was called Murilitch), of Carpaccio, or rather of Karpatch, another Slav. Their value is estimated at £20,000. Some modern pictures, by Croat artists, represent events in the national history. The best are in the Bishop’s bedroom and in his study.

We passed through a succession of beautiful, large reception rooms, as impressive as those of the Ministry at Vienna, with shining parquet, silken hangings, and chairs and arm-chairs of the style of the French Empire ranged around. We then took our places at the supper table in the dining-room. This was a large room with whitewashed walls, on which were hung some good engravings of religious subjects. The Bishop’s guests, besides Professor Krsujavi, were seven or eight young priests, attached to the bishopric or the seminary. We were waited upon by pandours with long moustaches, in hussar’s uniform. After

the Bishop had said the *Benedicite*, one of the priests read in Latin, before each meal, a chapter from the Gospel, and another from the *Imitation*. Conversation then began; it was always interesting, thanks to the fire, wit, and learning of the Bishop.

I spoke of the local industries of the peasants. I related that I had before seen at Sissek, on Sunday, countrywomen returning from mass, dressed in tunics and jackets, embroidered in brightly-coloured wools, that were wonderful.

"We do all we can," answered Strossmayer, "to uphold this traditional style. For this, we have established a small museum at Agram, where we are collecting specimens of all the articles of furniture and wearing apparel made in our country places. We then try to spread the best models. It will be one of the branches of teaching in our Academy of Fine Arts. M. Krsujavi is particularly occupied with this subject, and is preparing some publications about it."

"The extraordinary thing," said M. Krsujavi, "is that these embroideries, which always show a thorough comprehension of harmony and contrast of colour, and which are sometimes true masterpieces of ornament, are made by instinct without design or pattern. It is a kind of talent innate in our countrywomen. It comes, perhaps, from the sight of those around them, which, however, they never copy. It is the same with those who make carpets. Does that come from the Turks, who themselves have done nothing but reproduce, in more brilliant colours, the designs of Persian art? I doubt it, for the Slav decorations are quieter in colour, the arrangements are more severe and geometrical, less 'flowery.' It recalls the style of ancient Greece, and we find it amidst all the Slavs of the South, and even in Russia."

"Do not forget," answered the Bishop, "that this country where we now are, and where the only surviving art is that of agriculture, which gives us bread and wine, Slavonia, has been, at two different times, the seat of a high and brilliant literary and artistic culture. In ancient

times Sirmium was a great town, where Roman civilization flourished in all its glory. Our researches are constantly bringing to light the remains of this epoch. Then, in the Middle Ages came a second period of splendour, a true Renaissance, as you will be convinced directly. Later came the Turks, they burned everything, destroyed everything, and, without Christianity, they would have thrown us back to the times of primitive barbarism."

The Bishop sent for a collection of gold and silver cups, coming from Bosnia, which he visited at the time when he was still its Apostolic Vicar. He has crucifixes, crosses, chalices, which date from the tenth to the fourteenth century, and which are admirable. Here is a chalice in enamel *cloisonné*, in the Byzantine style; another has pure Roman chiselling and engraving; a third reminds one of the Norman decorations of Southern Italy; a fourth is of flagree upon plain gold, like some Etruscan jewels. Bosnia, before the Turkish invasion, was not the savage country which it has since become. In constant and easy communication by the Dalmatian coast with Greece and Constantinople on the one hand, and with Italy on the other, its artists rose to the level of the works produced in those two centres of civilization.

"Even now," said the Bishop, "there are goldsmiths at Sarajewo, who have never learned to draw, but whose works are masterpieces. Look at this episcopal cross of ivory and silver. Agram furnished the design, but how perfectly it is executed! Do not think that I am a collector. Doubtless I have a liking for it as well as other men, but, with my small means, I pursue one grand end, to attach the present to the past, this glorious past of our race, of which I have already spoken to you, to re-awaken, to sustain, and to develop the share of originality that God has meted out to the Jougo-Slavs, to break the thick crust of ignorance beneath which our national genius has been smothered during so many ages of oppression, and so to act that the Turkish rule shall be only an interlude, a kind of nightmare that the morning of our resurrection will definitely dissipate."

The following morning a bright June sun woke me early. I opened my window. The birds sang in the trees of the park, and the intoxicating perfume of the acacias transported me to the orange groves of Sorrento. Scents awaken special memories, not less than sounds. At eight o'clock the servant brought me breakfast *à la Viennoise*. Excellent coffee, cream and rolls of flour from Pesth, the best in the world. I went over the Episcopal Palace alone. It is a large building with one story, which dates, in its present form, from the middle of the last century. It forms two sides of a large central square court, the bottom end is closed by the outhouses and an old wall, and the fourth by the church. The first floor only comprises the master's rooms; on the ground floor are the kitchens, laundries, store-rooms, and rooms for the servants. The plan is very simple—that of cloisters—and a gallery is carried round the court, into which all the rooms open, one after another, like the cells of a convent.

The Bishop came to take me to visit his Cathedral, which is one of the things which have given him the most pleasure, because he there finds satisfaction for the hopes and feelings of the Christian, the patriot, and the artist. He has been occupied with it for sixteen years. This church has cost him more than £120,000. It is large enough to hold five or six times more people than there are now in Djakovo, but its founder hopes that it will last till it is too small to hold the faithful of the Djakovo of the future. It is built of the best quality of bricks, of very fine clay and bright red colour, like those of the Roman epoch. The window frames and the mouldings are of limestone, brought from Illyria. The marble inside comes from Dalmatia. One may guess what the carriage of the marble must have cost, for from the Danube, or from the Save, it had to be conveyed by carts. The style of the edifice is Italio-Lombard, quite unmixed. All the interior is many-coloured, and painted in fresco by the Seitz, father and son. The subjects are taken from sacred history, and that of the evangelization of Slav countries. Christianity and nationality



are the constant thoughts of Strossmayer. The high altar is specially well designed ; it is in the shape of a sarcophagus. Above, as in the Roman basilicas, rises a sort of canopy, supported by four monolithic columns of fine Adriatic marble, with bronze bases and capitals. Everything is in a severe style : no tinsel, no statues dressed like dolls, no miraculous virgins ; we are in the twelfth century, before the Jesuits had materialized and paganized the Catholic worship.

The Bishop took me to the crypt. Niches have been left in the thickness of the wall ; he has brought the remains of his three predecessors here. Upon the stone is only a cross and a name, while a fourth slab has no inscription.

"This is my place," he said : "here only shall I find rest. I have still much to do, but I have been bishop for thirty-three years, and man, like humanity, cannot hope to finish his work."

The words of Strossmayer reminded me of the sublime device of another great patriot, Marnix de Sainte-Aldegonde (one of the founders of the Dutch Republic, the friend of William the Silent), "*Repos ailleurs.*"

In going away I noticed an old ivy-covered wall. It was the last vestige of the old strong castle, which the Turks burned to the ground. When we find at every step traces of the devastations committed by the Mussulman bands, we understand the hatred which remains in the hearts of the Slav populations.

At dinner, which is here taken in the middle of the day, we spoke of the national movement in Dalmatia. The Bishop said : "We just received the news that by the recent elections in the Dalmatian towns the Slav candidates have defeated the Italians. It ought to be so ; the progress of nationalities is everywhere irresistible, because it is favoured by the spread of education. Till recently the Italians won always at Zara, Spalato, Sebenico, and Ragusa. They represented the middle classes, but the masses below them are completely Slav. So long as they were ignorant and oppressed, they had nothing to say ; but as soon as they

had some intellectual culture, they reclaimed the political power which was their rightful due. They have it now. And to say that often, through fear of the progress of Slavism, we favour the Italians, of whom some at least are in favour of Irredentism ! The present Ministry has repudiated this error, and, let us hope, for ever. Take special notice that from here to the Cattaro, from the coast of Dalmatia to the Timok and Pirot, that is, to the confines of Bulgaria, the same language is spoken by the Servians, Croats, Dalmatians, Bosnians, Montenegrins, and even by the Slavs of Trieste and Carniola. The Italians of the Dalmatian coast are most of them the descendants of Slav families, nationalized under the dominion of Venice, but, certainly, the glory of the City of the Doges and its noble civilization threw its reflection over them. We respect them, we love them ; we do not proscribe the Italian language ; but the national tongue, the tongue of the majority of the people, must have the preference."

The guests vied with one another in their recital of facts to prove the eminent qualities of the Illyrian race ; one praised the courage of the soldiers, another the energy of the women. But they said that all these virtues are seen in their utmost perfection amongst the Montenegrins, because they only have always been able to keep their liberty and to preserve themselves from the corrupting contact with a master. One of the young priests, who had lived in Dalmatia, and travelled through the whole length of the coast, affirmed that in Montenegro it is not admitted that a woman can fall, also every sin of this kind is punished in a terrible way. The guilty married woman was formerly stoned, or perhaps the husband cut off her nose. The guilty young girl is mercilessly driven away ; also she generally commits suicide, and her brothers are not long in killing the seducer, which causes *vendettas* and family wars that last for years. M. von Stein-Nordheim, of Weimar, tells how, during the last war, a Turk, named Mehmed-Pacha, carried away in a raid a young Montenegrin, the beautiful Joke. She begged him not to disgrace her in

sight of the soldiers. They were in the mountains; they turned aside. The girl saw that the path led by the edge of a precipice; she fell on the ground, overcome by emotion. Mehmed seized her in his arms; she returned his embraces, she clung to him, then suddenly she turned round and drew her conqueror over a sharp rock, and both fell together into the abyss, where their mutilated bodies were found. The heroism of Joke was, quite recently, made the subject of a popular song.

Another incident of the war of 1879. All the men of a frontier village had gone away to rejoin the large army. The Turks arrived and entered the village. The women took refuge in an old tower, and defended themselves there like Amazons, though they had nothing but old guns. The tower threatened to be taken by assault. "We must blow ourselves up," said Yela Marunow. They heaped the powder barrels together, the women and children gathered round them to hide them, and the door was opened, when more than 500 Turks entered and threw themselves upon them. Yela set fire to the powder, and they were all instantly killed, and buried beneath the ruins.

When a girl is born in Montenegro, the mother says to her, "I do not wish thee beauty, but courage; heroism alone gains the love of men." Here is a strophe of a *Lied* which the girls sing: "Grow, my well-beloved, and when thou shalt have become tall and strong, and thou shalt come to ask my hand from my father, bring me then, as thy morning gift, the heads of Turks stuck on thy *yataqhan*."

A guest maintained that the Croats are as brave as the Montenegrins. He said they thoroughly proved it under Maria Theresa in the wars against Napoleon, and on the battle-fields of Italy in 1848, 1859, and 1866. It was they who, after the March revolution, saved Austria, under the Ban Jellachitch; but for their resistance, the Hungarians would have taken Vienna, before the Russians had thought of interfering. The Englishman, Paton, who has written one of the best works upon these countries, relates that, being at Carlstadt in Croatia, the Governor, Baron Baum-

garten, gave him an account of the heroic death of Baron von Trenck. The Emperor had given large possessions in Croatia as a reward to François von Trenck, who with his Croats had fought bravely at the siege of Vienna. His descendant, Baron Frederick von Trenck, was ruined by lawsuits, put in prison by the king Frederick II., escaped, wrote the famous "Memoirs," which, as Grimm says, made a prodigious sensation, and finally came to settle in Paris to slake his thirst for philosophy at its very source. He was arrested during the Reign of Terror, and accused of being the spy of tyrants, because he attended the meetings of the clubs. He defended himself by showing the marks of the chains of the King of Prussia, and letters from Franklin. But he spoke with respect of the great Empress Maria Theresa. Fouquier-Tinville interrupted him. "Take care," he said, "do not praise a crowned head in the sanctuary of justice."

Trenck raised his head proudly. "I repeat: after the death of my illustrious sovereign, I came to Paris to follow occupations for the good of humanity."

This was too much, and he was condemned and executed the same evening.

The somewhat savage courage of the pandours was proverbial in the eighteenth century. At the beginning of the Reign of Terror, the Empress Catherine wrote, "Six thousand Croats would put an end to the Revolution. Let the princes return to the country, they will be able to do what they like." I cite these facts to prove how the remembrance of the warlike exploits of their race keeps up amongst the Croats an ardent, exacting, and sullen patriotism.

In the afternoon we visited the farm which is close to the episcopal residence, *die Oekonomie*, as they call it in German. The expression is right. The Greeks understood by this word chiefly the administration of a rural domain, as is shown in the "Economics" of Xenophon. The Intendant, who is also a priest, gave me some particulars. "The Bishop's grounds still measure 27,000 jochs of 57 ares, 55 centiares each, of which 19,000 are wood, 200 vineyards,

and the rest arable. The taxes are enormous. They amount to 32,000 gulden.\* The domain was formerly much more extensive; but, since 1848, after the emancipation of the peasants, who received as property, part of the soil which they had cultivated as tenants *à corvée*, the Bishop ordered the division to be made in the way most advantageous to the cultivators. In truth, the conditions of farming are not very favourable here. Labour is dear; we pay a day labourer a gulden and a half, and the price of our products is low, for it has to bear the enormous expense of transport to the markets of the consumers. It is quite the opposite with you. The land, dear there, is cheap here. We sell our horses of the Lipitça breed, at about 500 gulden; a fine stallion is worth 1,400 to 1,500 gulden, a good cow 100 gulden, a three-months-old pig 9 gulden. The ground is let at from 6 to 7 gulden the joch (a joch is nearly  $1\frac{1}{2}$  acre). But the episcopal domain is almost entirely cultivated by and for the lord himself. The country people, all having some land and little capital, are hardly ever willing to rent more. We should have to give up the farms to the Jews, who would not pay us so much as we get by direct cultivation." The Bishop interposed—

"Do not speak evil of the Jews; it is they who buy all my produce at a good price. I tried to sell to Christian merchants, and I received a third or fourth less. As I employ my income in works of benevolence, I could not so injure them in obedience to a prejudice. I have built a steam mill to grind my corn, without being at the mercy of the Israelitish millers, but I must own that those gentlemen understand it better than we."

I have heard since that the revenues of the Bishopric of Djakovo average 150,000 gulden. This seems large, but it is small in comparison with those of the Bishopric of Agram, which reach 250,000 gulden; or those of the Bishop of Gran, the Primate of Hungary, which are more than 500,000 gulden. The farm buildings have very thick walls, in order to resist the attacks of the Turks, who, till recently,

\* A gulden, silver = 2s.; a gulden, note = 1s. 8d.

occupied the other side of the Save, about twenty-five miles from here. The Bishop showed me his cow-houses; his *Schweizerei*, as he calls it. He has imported Swiss cows, which, well fed in their stable, give much milk and butter. I took the opportunity of saying that it is in this direction that the agriculturalist should turn his efforts. "The price of wheat is falling, but that of butter and meat always remains high. Your ground spontaneously produces very nourishing grass. You would be able easily, thanks to the railways, to forward your dairy produce to our Western markets. You have numbers of pigs in your forests. Imitate the Americans; improve the breed, fatten them with maize, which grows here better than elsewhere, and send the hams and bacon to us. We will not return them on pretext of trichinæ."

We visited the deer park, five miles from Djakovo, driving in two victorias, each drawn by four greys. I was with the Bishop; he pointed out the beauty of his fine avenue of Italian poplars. "I like this tree," he said, "not only because it reminds me of a country which I love, but because it is, in my eyes, a sign of civilization. Whoever plants it is moved by an æsthetic feeling. To appreciate the beautiful in nature, as well as in art, is a great element of culture."

We spoke of the politico-religious question. Knowing how delicate, and perhaps painful for him, this subject was, I only alluded to it. I asked him how he had been able, when at the Council, to speak Latin in such a way as to astonish that high and learned assembly, and to merit the praise of being *primus orator Christianitatis*. He answered: "I spoke it easily, and that was all. Formerly, as Professor of Theology, I taught in Latin. To avoid the rivalry of national tongues, Latin was our official language till 1848. Before going to the Council, I re-read my Cicero, and thus Latin expressions, to embody my thoughts, presented themselves to my mind with an abundance that greatly surprised myself. The fact is, Latin is still the language in which I can express most clearly what I mean."

Strossmayer has recently accepted the new doctrine of Papal Infallibility, which he so eloquently contested in Rome; but he spoke with equal kindness of Dupanloup, who submitted to it, and Dollinger, who still refuses. "When a man," he said, "sacrifices his temporal interests to conscience and duty, thus manifesting the superiority of human nature, we can only bow before him. It belongs to God alone to pronounce the final judgment."

He also expressed vivid sympathy for Lord Acton, who made the anti-infallibility campaign with him. "He was in Rome with us," he said, "and I saw the agony of this noble soul at the time when the decision of the Council was in the balance; there is, perhaps, no one who knows Ecclesiastical History more thoroughly; he is a Father of the Church."

I had met Lord Acton at Menton in January, 1879, and I had been literally overwhelmed by his prodigious learning and his propensity to read everything. Thus, although political economy was only a temporary study with him, I found upon his table all the principal works on this subject in French, English, German, and Italian, read and annotated. Lord Acton is certainly the most learned and eminent of the English Liberal Catholics, but his position seems to me to be singularly difficult and even painful.

I did not wish to ask the Bishop what he thought about the temporal power; but it seemed to me that he regarded it as by no means essential to the spiritual mission of his Church. He said: "The enemies of the Papacy wished to deal it a mortal blow by taking away its States; they were mistaken. The more a man is liberated from material interests the freer and stronger he becomes. It is said that the Pope hopes that a foreign war may restore his kingdom. Do not believe it. Is he not the successor of Him who said, 'My kingdom is not of this world'? He cannot wish for Rome, or for the whole world, if it must be bought with blood."

We reached the deer park. It is part of the ancient forest, saved from the axe of the clearers and wood-mer-

chants. It is surrounded with high palisades to keep out the wolves, which are still very numerous in this country. The strong branches of the large oaks form a dome like the arches of a cathedral. In the green glades the deer are passing, going to drink at springs hidden under the large leaves of the colt's-foot. Man respects this sanctuary, where nature appears in her majesty and primitive grace. Whilst we wandered about in the shadow of the great trees the Bishop said: "The man whom I most desire to meet is Gladstone. We have several times exchanged letters. He wishes success to my work here; but I have not had time to visit him in England. What I admire and venerate in Gladstone is that in all his policy he is guided by love of humanity and justice, by respect for the rights even of the weak. When he braved the opinion of England, always favourable to the Turks, to defend with the most persuasive eloquence the cause of our poor Bulgarian brothers, we blessed him from the bottom of our heart. This is the policy dictated by Christianity. Gladstone is a true Christian. Oh, if all Ministers were so, what a radiant future of peace and harmony would dawn on our unhappy race!"

I confirmed Strossmayer's opinion by recalling a speech that I heard from Gladstone in 1870. It was at the annual banquet of the Cobden Club. A foreign guest, I was seated by the side of Gladstone, who presided. War had just been declared between France and Germany. He told me that this fearful news had driven sleep away, and that it had the same kind of effect upon him as if he saw death hovering over his daughter's head. When he rose to propose the customary toast, his voice was solemn, profoundly melancholy, and as if full of restrained tears. He spoke of the terrible drama which was about to be unfolded in the sight of horrified Europe, of this fratricidal struggle between the two nations who had attained such a high degree of civilization, of the keen disappointment felt by Cobden's friends, who thought as he did, that the increase of commerce, by revealing the solidarity of nations, would prevent



war. His touching words, carried by religious sentiment into the highest regions, recalled those of Bossuet and Massillon. It was the eloquence of the pulpit in its purest form, but applied to the business and interests of humanity. The emotion of his hearers was so deep that it was shown, not by applause, but by that silence with which we receive the farewells of those on the borders of the tomb. Whilst sharing this feeling, which brought restrained tears to all eyes, I thought of the terrible expression, "light heart," uttered some days before at the French Tribune, by Emile Olivier. Doubtless the word was not in accord with the thought; but if the French Minister had felt in any measure the bitter sorrow which weighed upon the English Statesman, this mistake could not have happened.

"For myself," answered the Bishop, "the war of 1870 was the cause of cruel agony. When I saw that it continued after Sedan, when I foresaw that the conditions of peace were preparing the cause of future conflicts for Europe, I forgot the reserve imposed upon me by my position; I remembered only that Jesus gave it to us as a duty to dare all to stop the shedding of blood. I went to the Russian ambassador, whom I knew, and said to him: 'Everything is in the hands of the Czar. A word from him would finish the strife, and obtain a peace which would not be a certain cause of fresh wars in the future. I wish that I could throw myself at the feet of your emperor, who is a good man, and a friend of humanity.'

"The ambassador answered: 'We regret, like all sensible men, the continuation of this war; but it is to ask too much of Russia to require that she shall quarrel with Germany in order to lose the advantage of finding, in case of need, a certain and devoted ally in France.'"

If I allow myself to repeat this, it is only because this way of looking at it by Russia is no secret. I have shown it in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (Nov. 15, 1871), in an account of a very remarkable book, by General Fudéef, who died recently at Odessa.

At supper the conversation turned on the origin of the

national movement in Croatia and Servia, and we spoke specially of the writer and patriot, Danitchitch. "Is it not honourable," said the Bishop, "that here, as everywhere, the literary resurrection has preceded the political one? In truth, mind creates everything. Previously we poor Servo-Croats had no longer even a language, only patois, which was despised and ignored. The remembrance of our ancient civilization and of the empire of Dushan were effaced, the heroic songs and the national poems alone survived in the memory of the people. The first thing was to remake our language, as Luther did for Germany. This is the great merit of Danitchitch. He died lately, on November 4, 1882. Croats and Servians wept over him together; his body was taken from Agram to Belgrade, where he received a magnificent funeral at the expense of the State. King Milan attended the ceremony. The bier was buried under the wreaths sent by all our associations and all our towns. Upon one might be read, *Nada* (hope). That was an imposing manifestation of the power of national feeling. Djouro Danitchitch was born in 1825, amongst the Austrian Servs, at Neusatz, in the Banat, in Hungary. His real name was Popovitch, which means son of the Pope, for this termination *itch*, which characterizes almost all Servian and Croat proper names, means 'son of,' or 'little,' like *son* in Jackson, Philipson, Johnson, in English and the other Germanic languages. His *nom de plume* came from *Danitcha*, "sunrise." He called himself 'Son of the Sunrise,' to show that he devoted himself entirely to the re-establishment of his nationality. At the age of twenty he met, at Vienna, Vuk Karadzitch, who was engaged in reconstituting our national language. He joined in this work, and it is in this way that he has rendered such invaluable service. What he accomplished is prodigious; he was unequalled as a worker, and killed himself by it. But his work was done, the Servo-Croat language was made. In 1849 he was appointed to the chair of Slav Philology, at the Academy of Belgrade, and in 1866 I had him nominated for the

Academy of Agram, where he was engaged in finishing his great Slav dictionary, when death came to bring him the repose he had never tasted here.

“I will relate an incident of his life which is not much known. Having displeased a Servian Minister, he was degraded to an inferior post in the Telegraph Office; he made no complaint, but continued his admirable work. I sent word to Prince Michael, who had confidence in me, that Danitchitch would do honour to the first academies of the world, and that he was worthy of filling the highest office; but that, above all, he must have leisure. A short time afterwards he was appointed corresponding member of the Academy of St. Petersburg. He had taught Servian to the Countess Hunyady, the wife of Prince Michael of Servia. Here are some particulars relative to the great Jougo-Slav philologist. The Servians of the Middle Ages spoke the old Slav tongue, which was written only in their liturgies. To Danitchitch the honour belongs of having reconstituted the official language of Servia, as it has been spoken, written, printed, and taught, since its formal adoption by the Minister Tzernobaratz, in 1868. He determined and purified the vocabulary, and fixed the grammatical rules in books which have become classical: ‘The Servian Language and Alphabet’ (1849). ‘Servian Syntax’ (1858). ‘The Formation of Words’ (1878), and then in his great dictionary. He also did much to diffuse the knowledge of the ancient national traditions. With this aim he published, at Agram, in Croatia, between 1866 and 1875, ‘The Proverbs and Songs of Mavro Vetrantitch-Savcitch,’ and the ‘Lives of the Servian Kings and Archbishops.’ Like Luther, he desired that the newly-made language should be the medium of the national religion, and he published ‘Selections from the Old and New Testaments,’ and the ‘Psalms.’ The Bishop of Schabatz, on first reading them, found this translation so superior to the old one, that he was unwilling ever to use the old Psalter again. The service rendered by Danitchitch is enormous, for he has given the Servian nationality this

indispensable basis—a written language. Professor of Slav Philology at both Agram and Belgrade, he was a bond of union between Servia and Croatia, for he was equally popular in both countries.

“I have only heard two regrets expressed with regard to the reconstitution of the Servian language. Firstly, it is troublesome that they have retained the Eastern characters, instead of replacing them by the Latin alphabet, as the Croats have done. In the interest of the future federation of the Jougo-Slavs, everything that divides them must be as far as possible obliterated, especially everything which estranges them from the West. Secondly, it is also to be regretted that the differences should have been accentuated which distinguish the Servo-Croat from the Slovenian, which has Laybach for its headquarters, and which is the literary language of Carniola and the surrounding Slav districts. Slovenian is, according to Miklositch, one of the chief authorities on this subject, the most ancient Jougo-Slav dialect. It was spoken, in the early centuries of the Middle Ages, by all the Slav tribes, from the Alps of the Tyrol to Constantinople, and from the Adriatic to the Black Sea. About the middle of the seventh century the Croato-Serbs, coming from the Carpathians, and the Bulgarians of Finnish descent, establishing themselves further to the east, modified it, each group in its own way. Yet, they say, the ancient Slovenian and Croatian were so much alike, that it would not have been difficult to blend them in a common language. Slovenes and Croats understand each other perfectly, and even better than Swedes and Norwegians.”

On Sunday morning Strossmayer took me to Mass in his cathedral. The Bishop did not officiate. It seemed to me that the Epistle and Gospel were read in the vulgar tongue. The chants, accompanied by an excellent organ, were well conducted. The congregation presented a very peculiar appearance.

The size of the cathedral is so much out of proportion to the present number of inhabitants, that scarcely a quarter

of the nave was filled. I saw only peasants in their holiday costume, the men standing with their brown braided dolmans, the women in beautifully embroidered tunics, seated on the ground on carpets that they brought with them, in imitation of the Turks in the mosques. They all followed the office with the greatest attention, but not one had a prayer-book. Not a single modern costume marred this assembly, where all, lay and ecclesiastic, wore the traditional dresses of a thousand years ago. None of the *bourgeoisie* were there, because they, being Jews, had been to the synagogue the day before. The effect was perfect. There was absolutely nothing which recalled Western Europe.

On leaving church, the Bishop took me to visit the Higher School for Girls and the Hospital, both of which he founded. The eight class-rooms were large, well-ventilated, and hung with maps and instructive engravings. They also teach needlework of the kind done by the peasants. They train teachers for the primary schools. There were only five people in the hospital, three women, who were very old, but not ill, an old man of a hundred and four, very proud that he could read without spectacles, and a gipsy, who was suffering from bronchitis. The patriarchal families in the country take care of their sick themselves. Thanks to the *zadrugas*, no one is alone and deserted. The Bishop went to the Superior of the Sisters of Mercy, who do the work of the hospital.

"She is French-Swiss," he said. "You can talk to her, but her life is in great danger: she is going to Vienna to undergo a serious operation, which will be performed, at my request, by the famous Professor Billroth. We shall send her by the Danube, but I even fear that she may be unable to start."

And, in truth, the red patches on her cheeks, produced by fever, the dark circles under her eyes, and her emaciated face, left no doubt as to the gravity of her illness.

"Do you think, monseigneur," said the Superior, "that I shall ever return from Vienna?"

"I hope so, my daughter," answered the Bishop, in his

grave, sweet voice. "But you know, as I do, that our true fatherland is not here below. It matters very little whether we stay a few days more or less in this world. What are our years compared with the eternity that is waiting for us? It is after death that the true life begins. It is beyond that we must fix our eyes and place our hopes; then we shall be ever ready to go when God calls us."

This appeal to faith comforted the invalid; she regained courage, and her eyes shone with a brighter light.

"May God's will be done!" she said; "I commit myself to His hands."

Decidedly Christianity brings consolation to the sick and dying that Agnosticism can never offer. What would the Positivist have said? Doubtless he would have spoken of resignation, but it is useless to mention that, for one is always resigned to the inevitable in some way or other. Only the resignation of the Agnostic is sombre and gloomy; that of the Christian is confident, even joyous, because the view of perfect bliss opens before him.

The Bishop showed me then the place where he will build the new Gymnasium and the Library. In the Gymnasium the young people will learn the dead languages and science—preparatory studies for the University and Seminary. He will place the large collection of books, which he has been making for forty years, in the Library, and so the Professors will have the necessary material for their studies and researches. All the public institutions, demanded by the wants and progress of humanity, are here founded and kept up by the Bishop, instead of by the Municipality. He wishes, also, to rebuild the Communal School, and will spend £4,000 upon it. Nothing from the large revenue of the episcopal lands is wasted on luxury or personal enjoyment. Suppose this large domain in the hands of a lay lord, what a difference! The net produce of the soil, instead of creating a centre of civilization on the spot, would be spent at Pesth or Vienna, in worldly pleasures, dinners balls, carriages, rich toilettes, perhaps in gambling, or in diversions still more to be condemned.

I met at dinner in the middle of the day, the ten canons whom I had seen in the morning at the cathedral. They are old priests, and receive a pension from the Bishop. They all spoke German perfectly, but not much French. The conversation was animated, lively, and instructive. We drank the wines of the country, which are pleasant, with a good bouquet, and at dessert, French wine was handed round.

I noted some interesting facts. They spoke of the Bulgarians as first-rate workers, of wholly exceptional thrift. Round Essek they rent a joch of land for fifty florins, which is three times its ordinary letting value, and they manage, by the cultivation of vegetables, to make two hundred florins, the greatest part of which they take back to their families, who have remained in Bulgaria. They do the same near the great towns of the Danube, from Agram to Pesth. But for them, the markets would be without vegetables, for the country people never think of growing them.

One of the priests, a Dalmatian, said that in his country the Austrian Ministers have long wished to suppress the Slav nationality. In Istria, which is entirely Slav, they had an Italian-Dalmatian bishop, who could not speak a word of the national tongue. He appointed to the vacant livings Italian priests, whom the people could not understand. Confession had to be carried on through an interpreter. No country is more thoroughly Slav than Istria. There is a district where the Mass is said in the vulgar tongue, that is, old Slavonic. It is beginning to be understood everywhere, except, perhaps, at Pesth, that in all these districts the true remedy for Irredentism is Slavism.

Before taking the usual afternoon walk every one retired to his room to rest. The Bishop sent me reviews and papers, amongst others the *Journal des Economistes*, the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, the *Times*, the *Nuova Antologia*, and the *Rassegna Nazionale*. I must own that the choice is not bad, and that even at Djakovo one can follow the progress of thought in our West. About four, when it was cooler, two victorias, with four horses, were ready for us, and we

started to visit the *zadrugas* of Siroko-Polje. These agricultural associations—the word *zadruga* means association—are patriarchal families, living upon a common and indivisible domain. The *zadruga*, like a foundation, represents a civil person. It has a perpetual duration. It can act in a court of law. Its associated members have no right to ask for the division of the patrimony, nor to sell or mortgage their share in the land and house. The right of succession no more exists amidst these family communities than in religious ones. On the death of the father or mother, the children inherit nothing but some articles of furniture; they continue to take their share of the products of the collective domain, but only in virtue of their individual right, and as members of the perpetual family. Formerly nothing could destroy the *zadruga* but the death of all those who formed part of it. The daughter who was married received a dowry, but she could claim no share of the common property. He who left without the intention of returning, lost his rights. Both internal and external administration were vested solely in an elected chief, who was generally the oldest or most able man. He was called *gospodar*, lord, or *starechina*, the ancient. The housekeeping was managed by a matron, invested with despotic authority in this respect; she was called the *domatchika*. The *starechina* directed the agricultural labours, sold and bought; his post was the same as that of a director of a joint stock company, or rather that of a corporate society, for the *zadrugas* are in all respects agricultural corporate societies, bound together by secular custom and family affection, instead of by pecuniary interest.

Family communities have existed throughout the world in primitive times. It is the *γένος* of the Greeks, the Roman *gens*, the *cognatio* of the Germans, mentioned by Cæsar. It is also the *lignage* of the communes of the Middle Ages. It was *zadrugas* which built in America those colossal structures, divided in cells, that are called *pueblos*, and which are like the cells of honeycomb. In the middle of France, family communities existed until the



Revolution, having a character and government identical with those which we find to-day amongst the Southern Slavs. In the French *zadrugas*, the *starechina* was called the mayor, the master of the community, or the chief of the "*chanteau*," that is, bread.

We reached the village of Siroko-Polje. As it was Sunday, both men and women were in their holiday apparel. During the week the women wear only a long tunic, embroidered round the neck and sleeves, with an apron of bright colours, and a red kerchief or flowers upon the head. They go about barefoot; when they go to the fields, or when they watch the flocks, they fix the end of the distaff in the girdle and spin wool, flax, or hemp, by turning between their fingers the thread to which the spindle is hung. In this way they prepare for the warp and weft of the linen, materials, and carpets, which they weave themselves during the winter. Their tunic is of coarse cloth made from hemp. It falls in statuesque folds like the long "*chlamys*" of the draped statuettes of Tanagra. It is just like those of the young Athenians, who, under the guidance of the master of the chorus, are walking to the Panathenæa upon the frieze of the Parthenon. This costume, so simple and so noble, has remained unchanged from the earliest time: nothing is better suited for statuary; it was the first covering designed by modesty at her earliest awakening. The girls wear their hair in long plaits down the back, dressed with flowers or ribbons: the married women fasten them at the back of the head. The men are also clothed entirely in white, with a large jacket; trousers of woollen or linen cloth, which do not fall in large folds like a petticoat, in the Hungarian fashion. On Sunday, men and women wear an embroidered vest, where the decorative art has worked wonders. The patterns appear to be borrowed from those of Turkish carpets; but it is probable that they have originated from the æsthetic instinct which everywhere leads men to imitate the patterns and colours of flowers, the plumage of birds, and the wings of butterflies. The same patterns are found upon the many

coloured vases of the most ancient times, from India to the mysterious remains of pre-historic America. These embroideries are made by means of small pieces of cloth or bright-coloured leather, sewn on with coarse thread of contrasted colours. In the ladies' vests bits of looking-glass are sometimes sewn on with gold thread. The waistbands are embroidered and sewn in a similar manner. The feet are covered with sandals fastened by crossed leather laces, *i.e.*, by the *opanka*, which is the specialty of the Jougo-Slav, from Trieste to the gates of Constantinople. I saw here some fashionable young ladies with spun silk stockings, and cloth boots with toes of bright leather, but beside the ancient costume the effect was hideous. The women wore gold and silver money threaded and hung round the head, neck, and waist. The richest have two or three rows—quite a treasure of precious metal!

The Bishop's arrival brought out all the inhabitants. The assemblage of these women in costumes so well adapted to charm the eye of a painter was a delightful sight. This crowd of bright colours, where nothing was out of harmony, produced the effect of an Eastern carpet upon a light ground. When the carriages stopped before the house of the *zadruga* Kopyar,—that we visited first,—the *starechina* advanced towards the Bishop to meet us. He was an old man, but still very vigorous, with long white hair falling over his shoulders. He had the characteristic marks of the Croat race—a small aquiline nose with high nostrils, grey eyes bright and closely set, a small mouth, thin lips shaded with a long military moustache. He kissed the Bishop's hand with deference, but without servility, as formerly ladies' hands were kissed. He gave us an address of welcome, that was translated to me by my colleague from Agram. The little speech was well turned. The custom which prevails here amongst the country people of discussing their affairs amidst their communities and in the village assemblies, gives them the talent of speaking very fluently. Almost all the *starechinas* are orators.

The house of the *zadruga* is higher and larger than those of isolated families; upon the side, towards the road, there are eight windows but no door. After passing through the gate which shuts in the court, we found a long verandah, into which the entrance door opened: we were received in a large room where they take their common repasts: the furniture consisted of a table, chairs, forms, and a cupboard of unstained wood; upon the walls, always well whitewashed, were coloured pictures of religious subjects. To the left was an almost empty room, where all the members of the patriarchal family slept in winter, to take advantage of the warmth of the stove placed in the wall between the two rooms, which are thus warmed together. In summer, married couples each have a separate room.

In Hungary I remarked a still stranger custom. When visiting a large farm belonging to Count Eugène Zichy, I noticed a large building where the wives and children of all the farm-servants lived together: each mother of a family had a separate room: in the common kitchen was a cooking range, where each prepared the meals of her family separately: the husbands were not admitted here; they slept in stables, cowhouses, and barns. The race, however, continued to perpetuate itself.

The stove which I found in the house of this *zadruga* is a modern innovation, as are the whitened walls and ceiling. Formerly, as still in some old houses, even at Siroko-Polje, the fire was made in the middle of the room, and the smoke escaped over the uncovered framework and through a small chimney made of pieces of wood, above which a broad, slanting plank rested upon four upright poles, to hinder the rain and snow from falling on the hearth. All the inside walls were covered with soot, but the hams were better smoked. The stoves come from Bosnia. You see them now in all the Trans-Danubian countries, and I have found them even in the pretty drawing-rooms of the French Consul at Sarajewo: they are said to throw out much heat and to keep it long: they are round, made of

hardened clay, in which are embedded discs of green and glazed earthenware, just like the bottoms of bottles.

The *starechina* made us taste his wine. He alone sat at the table with us and gave toasts, to which the Bishop responded. At the end of the room the whole family was gathered together. In front were the numerous little children, then the young girls in their beautiful embroidered tunics. I learned that the community was composed of thirty-four persons of all ages—eight married couples, and seven widows whose husbands died in the Bosnian war. The *zadruga* continues to support them and their children. The collective domain consists of more than 150 jochs of arable land; it feeds three hundred sheep, eighteen horses, about forty horned animals, and a great many pigs. The numerous fowls of all kind, walking about the court, allow the realization of Henry the Fourth's wish, that there may be often a hen in the pot. The orchard yields pears and apples, and there is a large plantation of plum-trees, from which is made *slivoritza*, the prune brandy, dear to the palate of the Jougo-Slav.

Behind the common house, and at right angles, rises a low but long building, before which also runs a verandah with a wooden floor. As many cells as correspond to the number of married couples and widows, open from this passage; if a marriage creates a new household amidst this large family, the building is lengthened by a new cell. One of the women showed us her bedroom; it was crowded with furniture and clothes; at the end stood a large bedstead, on which were three thick mattresses, linen sheets ornamented with embroidery and lace, and, as counterpane, a fine woollen rug of bright colours; against the wall a sofa, also covered with the same kind of rug; and upon the floor bits of carpet of dark-coloured curly wool, black, deep blue, and reddish-brown. Shelves ran along the wall; on some were set the shoes, on others the husband's Hungarian boots, for the days on which he goes to town. Two large wardrobes filled with clothes, also three immense chests holding shirts, tunics, and embroi-

dered linen. Those cubic yards of fine garments represent a large sum. The young woman exhibited them with pride; they are the work of her hands, and her private fortune. To describe them, we should have to exhaust the vocabulary relating to ready-made linen. I noticed especially some shirts of spun silk, slightly rough, and ornamented with patterns in tinsel and gold thread; the taste and delicacy of this material are charming. The community has a right to all the time of a man and his wife which is required for the ordinary work of the farm; but what they do afterwards, when at liberty, belongs to themselves alone. They may thus gain property of their own, consisting of linen, clothes, jewels, silver, arms, and furniture of all kinds. It is the same in the family communities of India.

At the end of the court rose the barn, which was also *le grenier d'abondance*. All round, in the inside, were placed wooden receptacles, filled with corn, wheat, maize, oats. It was almost harvest time, and they were still more than half full. The *zadruga* is as far-seeing as the ant; it has reserve provisions for at least a year, to guard against loss from a bad harvest or an invasion. By the side, in an isolated building, are placed the presses and barrels needed for making wine and prune brandy. The *starechina* showed us with satisfaction a whole row of barrels full of *slivovitza*, which is not to be sold until improved by age. It is the reserve fund of the community.

I was astonished: No large cowhouses, no cattle, no manure! I am told that they are in buildings set amongst the cultivated fields; this is a custom I had previously noticed in Hungary on large farms. It is an excellent plan; the carriage of fodder and manure is thus avoided, and the animals are close to their work. At the same time, the family living in the village enjoys the advantages of social life. The young people relieve one another in the care of the cattle in the fields.

In another *zadruga* that we visited, the arrangements, customs, and comfort were the same, but our reception was

much more brilliant. Whilst we took a glass of wine with the *starechina*, in the presence of the whole numerous family standing around, the inhabitants of the village surrounded the open windows. The schoolmaster advanced and addressed a speech to the Bishop in Croat, but he spoke Italian equally well, and told me that he had been a soldier, and had resided in Lombardy, having fought at Custoza in 1866. He praised the advantages of the *zadruga* with the sincerest eloquence. At my request the girls sang some national songs; they seemed merry; their features were refined, several were pretty. As a whole, the race is beautiful. Black hair, so common in Hungary, is rare here; we see light hair, but chestnut predominates. The two types, dark and light, are found amongst both the Western and Southern Slavs. The Slovaks of Hungary are chiefly flaxen-haired. The Montenegrins have very dark hair. At a large fair at Carlstadt, in Croatia, I saw the country people coming from the southern district of the province, and belonging to the Orthodox Greek Rite; they had very black eyes and hair, a sallow, dark complexion; whilst the other farmers, also Croats, but of the Greek Rite united to Rome, were chiefly light, with fair skin and grey eyes. The Slav race is certainly fair. The brown or black hair of some tribes only proves the greater or less intermixture with the native races who occupied the various regions where they predominate to-day. My visit to the *zadrugas* confirmed the favourable opinion which I had formed of them before, and increased my regret to see them disappear. These communities are better off than their neighbours, and they farm better, because they have, relatively, more cattle and more capital.

In virtue of their co-operative character they combine the advantages of small properties and *grande culture*. They prevent excessive subdivision, they arrest rural pauperism, they render public charity needless. By reciprocal control they keep up the standard of modesty and morality. As the municipal councils are the primary schools of parliament, they are the initial preparation for

communal autonomy, because every important resolution is preceded by a debate, presided over by the *starechina*. They support and strengthen family feeling, which can never be marred by any avaricious hopes of inheritance. When, by the dissolution of the *zadruga*, associated couples separate, they often sell their goods and fall into poverty. But, it may be asked, if the *zadrugas* combine so many advantages, how is it that their number is constantly diminishing? The idea that all innovation is progress is so impressed upon our mind, that we are inclined to condemn all that is lost. I am sorry for this. Is it age or study which transforms me into *laudator temporis acti*? Anyway, the *zadrugas* are killed by the taste for luxury, the spirit of insubordination, the breath of individualism, and what is called the "progressive" legislation which has aroused this spirit. I can hardly see true progress here.

In returning I admired afresh the beauty of the crops. The wheat was splendid. Hardly any weeds; no corn-flowers, no poppies, no wild mustard. The maize thrown into the succession of crops thoroughly cleans the ground, because it requires a second tith. I could see no signs near the village that the people take interest in any games, and I regretted it. Switzerland is in this, as in many other respects, a model worthy of imitation, especially amongst such populations as these, where the simple habits are so much like those of the mountaineers of the Alpine cantons. What importance is given by the Swiss to shooting, to wrestling, to athletic games of all kinds! It was so in ancient Greece, and thus did our valiant Flemish citizens of the Middle Ages, imitating the knights, against whom they learned, in this way, to struggle on the battle-field. These exercises of strength and skill make free peoples. They must be introduced everywhere, and encouraged by prizes. It is to games that the youth of England owes its strength, audacity, and self-confidence—these heroic virtues which make the Anglo-Saxon race take such an important place in the world. The Prussian Minister of Education recently sent a circular, that I should

like to see reproduced in letters of gold in all our schools, to recommend that the children and young people should be encouraged in games and exercises, which develop the muscles, as well as coolness, keenness, decision, energy, and perseverance—all the masculine qualities of body and mind. We no longer need gladiators, as in Greece, but strong, healthy, determined men, capable, in case of need, of putting a vigorous arm at the service of a good cause. Here, on Sundays and fête days, the country people dance the *kolo* with eager enjoyment, but that is not enough.

On our return to Djakovo I inquired from the Bishop about the seminary which he founded in 1857, with the Emperor's help and patronage, for the Bosnian Catholic clergy. I had just read its praises in a book on Bosnia, by Captain G. Thoemmel. Strossmayer's face clouded. For the first time his words showed bitter sorrow. He said—

“It was removed to Gran, in 1876. For myself I do not complain; anything which lessens my responsibility in the sight of God diminishes my anxieties and cares, which are already beyond my strength; but what an unjustifiable measure! Imagine young priests, of Slav birth, destined to live in the midst of Slav populations; yet they are sent to study at Gran, in the centre of Hungary, where they will never hear a word of their native language, the only one they will never speak there, and the one they ought to cultivate before any other. What do they want at Pesth? Do they hope to Magyarise Bosnia? However, the unhappy Bosnians could not stay at Gran; they fled. It is really strange how even those Hungarians who desire to act justly towards us find it difficult to do so. Here is an example. At the Paris Exhibition of 1867 I met Kossuth, by chance. He had just proved, in his addresses and pamphlets, that the salvation of Hungary requires respect for the autonomy and rights of all the nationalities—*Gleichberechtigung*, as the Germans say. That was also my opinion. The quarrels of 1848 must be forgotten, and a brotherly hand held out. But unfortunately I pronounced the name of Fiume. Fiume is



really a Slav town. Its name is Rieka, a Croat word which signifies 'river,' and of which Fiume is the Italian translation. It is the only port of Croatia. Geographically it is opposed to its attachment to Hungary, from which it is separated by the whole extent of Croatia. Kossuth's eyes shone with indignation. 'Fiume,' he said, 'is Hungarian town; it is the *littus Hungaricum*; we will never yield it to the Slavs.' "

"I own," I said to the Bishop, "that I do not understand the animosity with which the Croats and Hungarian quarrel about Fiume. Grant the town full autonomy, and as the port will be open for all traffic it will belong to all."

"Complete autonomy," answered the Bishop; "that is the true solution. We ask nothing more for our country."

In the evening, at supper, we spoke of the Trans-Danubian clergy of the Greek Rite. I asked if the ignorance was as great as it was said to be. Strossmayer answered—

"It is really great, but it is not their fault. The Greek bishops, appointed by the Phanar of Constantinople, were hostile to the development of national culture. The people were so poor that they were obliged to till the ground with their own hands, and they received no education. Now that the people are freed from the double yoke of the Turks and the Greek bishops, and have regained a national clergy, they may be able to improve themselves. I have said, and got others to say, that the one thing needed is to create good seminaries. In these young States it is the educated priest who should be the missionary of civilization. Pay attention to this: on the one hand, by his theological studies, he touches the high spheres of philosophy, morality, and religious history; and, on the other, he speaks to all, and reaches even the humblest cottage. I see, with the greatest satisfaction, that the governments of Servia, Bulgaria, and Roumelia are making great sacrifices to increase the number of schools; but let them not forget that nothing can replace good seminaries."

These words prove that, on a question of helping the progress of the Jougo-Slavs, Strossmayer is ready to associate his efforts with those of the clergy of the Eastern Rite, without being hindered by the dogmatic differences which separate them. He has been, however, keenly reproached by these very clergy for the following passage in his pastoral letter, written as a comment on the encyclical of the Pope, *Grande Munus*, of September 30, 1880, concerning the saints, Cyril and Methodius—

“O Slavs, my brethren, you are evidently destined to accomplish great things in Asia and Europe. You are also called to regenerate, by your influence, the societies of the West, where the moral feeling is weakened; to give them more courage, more charity, more faith, more love of justice, virtue, and peace. But you will not be able to fulfil this mission to the advantage of other nations and yourselves, you will not put an end to the disagreements that divide you, unless you are reconciled to the Western Church, by concluding a union with her.”

This last expression provoked sharp replies, of which a specimen may be found in the *Messenger Chrétien*, published in Servian by the pope Alesca Ilitch (July number, 1881). The Bishop of the Orthodox Oriental rite, Stefan of Zara, answered Strossmayer in a pastoral, dated Whitsuntide, 1881. He wrote—

“What do these people seek for, who address themselves to our Orthodox followers without having been asked? The most known of them all tells us ‘that the holy Father, the Pope, will not exclude his brothers of the Eastern Church from his love, and that he desires with all his heart the unity in the faith that will give them strength and true liberty;’ and he adds, ‘that on the occasion of the canonization of the saints, Cyril and Methodius, a great number of them should go to Rome to prostrate themselves at the feet of the Pope, and offer him their thanks.’ ”

The Bishop of Zara goes on to speak forcibly against the pretensions of the Church of Rome, and certainly he is right; but he ought to admit that a Catholic bishop is

compelled to bring back to what he thinks the truth brothers who are, in his opinion, erring. Propagandism ought to be allowed, provided that toleration and charity are not thereby imperilled : these religious rivalries are always to be regretted, and they may long hinder the union of the Jugo-Slavs.

In the letter written to me by Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, just as I was starting for the East, he sums up the situation thus briefly: "The future of the Southern Slavs depends on the question whether the national sentiment is stronger amongst them than their religious differences, and the solution of this problem is to a great extent in the hands of the celebrated Bishop of Djakovo."

I do not think that it is either possible or desirable that Bishop Strossmayer's propaganda in favour of Rome should succeed ; but the work to which he has dedicated his life—the reconstitution of the Croat nationality—is henceforward strong enough to resist all attacks and all trials.

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### CHAPTER III.

#### HISTORY AND RURAL ECONOMY OF BOSNIA.

WHEN I left Djakovo, Bishop Strossmayer's secretary went with me to the station of Vrpolje. The four pretty Lipitičan grey horses took us there within an hour. The country looked more desolate than about Essek: deep ruts on the road, waste land where the sheep wander, corn poorer and less plentiful, fewer habitations. Is it because in going to Vrpolje, we turn towards the Save and the ancient Turkish provinces—that is, towards barbarism; whilst on the Essek side we go towards Pesth and Vienna—that is, towards civilization?

My train for Brod not having yet arrived I went into the small hotel opposite the station. The two rooms were perfectly clean, with whitened walls, muslin window-curtains, and engravings of the Crown Prince Rudolph and his wife, our own Princess Stephanie. They must be very popular even in Slav and Magyar countries, for I found their likenesses everywhere, in booksellers' windows, and on the walls of hotels and restaurants. This is evidently a thermometer as to the popularity of high-born persons.

In the neighbouring fields a man and woman were hoeing maize, which showed its two first blades above the ground. The woman wore only a long tunic of coarse sacking, raised high to leave her movements free. The demands of modesty grow proportionately less as we descend the Danube; on the borders of the Save they are reduced

almost to nothing. The man was dressed in trousers of thick white stuff, and a shirt. He was thin, sunburnt, emaciated, and looked very miserable. The ground is fertile, however, and he who tills it does not spare his pains. A passage from "*La Mare au Diable*," that charming rustic novel by George Sand, comes into my mind. It is the picture of the labourer in Holbein's "Dance of Death," with this inscription, "Thou shalt gain thy poor living by the sweat of thy brow." I had recently been frightened, whilst studying the economic situations of Italy, by the extreme poverty of the cultivators, which is grievously proved by the official *Inchiesta agraria*. How does it happen that in an age when man, aided by science, augments so wonderfully the production of riches, those who cultivate the soil hardly keep enough of the bread they grow to satisfy their hunger? How is it that they so often resemble those wild animals described by La Bruyère, in the time of Louis XIV.? In Italy it is rent and taxes which bring ruin; here, it is more particularly taxes.

A Turk came to the station, well-dressed: large white turban, brown vest braided with black, wide flowing trousers of a deep red colour, gaiters in the Greek style, enormous leather girdle, in which, amidst many other articles, appeared a long cherry wood pipe. He brought with him a carpet and saddle. I was told that he was not a Turk, but a Mussulman of Sarajewo, of Slav race, and speaking the same language as the Croats. This is a perfect picture of the East. The saddle, which must be taken, because the peasants who let out horses are too poor to own one, and, as there are no roads, travelling is only possible on horseback; the carpet, which proves that in the *hans* there are neither beds nor mattresses; the arms of defence show that safety is not guaranteed by the public authorities; and, lastly, the pipe, which whiles away the long repose of the *kaif*.\* In Bosnia, Mussulmans are called

\* The absolute enjoyment of the *dolce far niente*, rendered usually more complete by the use of opiates.

Turks, which completely misleads those who know nothing of the ethnography of the province. It appears that there are very few Turks in the country, and, before the occupation, there were no Osmanlis but the officials. The Mussulmans whom we meet are of pure Slav blood. These were the olden proprietors who were converted to Islamism at the time of the conquest. The specimen before me is wholly of the Montenegrin type; his eagle nose is finely pointed, with high nostrils, like those of an Arab horse, his moustache long and black, and his deep bright eyes hidden under bushy brows. The station-master of Vrpolje spoke well of them all. "They are very straightforward," he said, "so long as they have not much intercourse with foreigners. They are religious and well brought up; they never swear, like the people about here. They drink neither wine nor spirits, unlike the modern Turks of Stamboul. Their word is trustworthy; it is worth more than a bond here: but they are rapidly becoming spoiled. They get drunk, become debauched, and fall into debt. The need of money introduces insincerity. European speculators set them the example, and they are unrestrained by public opinion, which has some weight with us."

The railway from Vrpolje to Brod runs through a very beautiful country, but little cultivated and almost uninhabited. We are here in a frontier country, but lately exposed to the raids of the Turks from the other side of the Save. The landscape is very fresh. The greensward is varied with water and massive oaks, as in an English park. What a splendid domain could be laid out here! and at relatively little expense, for the ground is not worth much. The horses and cattle which wander in these interminable meadows are smaller and thinner than those of Hungary. The country is poor, and yet it ought to be rich. The height of the trees, and the abundance of their spreading branches, show the fertility of the soil.

The road from the station of Brod to the town was in such bad repair, that the omnibus had to go at a foot's

pace to avoid breaking the springs. Notice to the communal administration! The *Hôtel Gelbes-Haus* is a big building of some architectural pretention, with large staircases, good, well-ventilated rooms, and an immense room on the ground-floor, where we dined, not badly, and in the Austrian style.' There are two Brods, opposite to one another, on each side of the Save: Slavonic-Brod, an important fortress, as the base of the operation of the Austrian armies, which occupied the new provinces; and Bosna-Brod, which belonged to Turkey.

The Slavonish-Brod is a small, regularly built town, with straight streets, lined with white houses, with no distinctive character. Bosna-Brod, on the contrary, is a thorough straggling Turkish village. I have never seen the difference between West and East so strongly marked. Two civilizations, two religions, two entirely different modes of life and thought, are here face to face, separated by a river. It is true that during four centuries this river has really divided Europe and Asia; but the Mussulman character will rapidly disappear under the influence of Austria. A large iron bridge on three arches crosses the Save and puts Sarajewo in direct communication with Vienna and the West. From Vienna to Brod is twenty hours, and the following evening we were in the heart of Bosnia, in another world!

At the time I crossed the bridge, the setting sun tinged the little ripples on the surface of the Save with red. The river is twice as broad as the Seine at Paris. It has a wild and melancholy look. The banks are flat, and are continually worn away by the current; there is no vegetation, except a few tall poplars, and a clump of willows near the river, with roots laid bare by floating ice, and which the next flood will carry away to the Black Sea. In a small bay, thrown by an eddy of the current, floated the swollen carcass of a buffalo, which the crows picked to pieces and quarrelled over. Vast green plains, which are flooded when the snow melts in the mountains, stretch on both sides. On the right, towards the setting sun, is

the purple outline of the mountains of Croatia, on the left the higher peaks which rise above Banjaluka. Upon the river, which forms an admirable commercial artery, is no sign of navigation, no noise save the croaking of innumerable frogs who are chanting their evensong.

Bosna-Brod consists of only one large street, along which the houses are built upon piles or raised foundations, to escape the inundations of the Save. Close at hand is the mosque in the midst of some poplars. It is entirely of wood; the minaret is brightly painted red, yellow, and green. The Meuzzin has just ascended the little gallery; he renders to God the last worship of the day; he calls for the twilight prayer, or *Aksham*. His voice, which has a sharp tone, reaches to the neighbouring fields. His words are beautiful; they recall Schiller's "Die Glocke." I prefer it to the uniform sound of bells. "God is above all, and all-powerful. There is no other God than He, and no other prophet than Mohammed. Gather together in the kingdom of God, in the courts of justice. Enter the abode of bliss."

In the Turkish cafés, with open doors and windows, you see not a single article of furniture except wooden forms running round the room, on which the Bosnian Mussulmans are seated with crossed legs, smoking. In a corner of the fireplace, over lighted charcoal, a cup of coffee is prepared for each, as it is asked for. The *cafidje* puts a measure of ground coffee into a very small copper coffee-pot, he adds sugar and water, and sets it over the coals for scarcely a minute, then pours out the warm coffee, grounds and all, into a cup the size of an egg-cup. Throughout the Balkan Peninsula the native traveller carries in his girdle an ingeniously constructed coffee-mill in the form of a tube. Two things strike me here. First, the transforming power of Mohammedanism, which has made these Slavs, on the borders of the Save, speaking no other language than Croat, Mussulmans to the core, just like those of Constantinople, Cairo, Tangiers, and the Indies. Then, the extreme simplicity of the means that



give so many happy hours to the sons of Islam. The whole contents of this café, as to furniture and utensils, are not worth a guinea. The customer, who brings his carpet, will spend three pence in tobacco and coffee during the evening, and will have been happy. Will the magnificent rooms, with painting, gilding, and hangings everywhere, that will be built here later, give more satisfaction to their rich and busy customers? When I saw the temperance, commanded by the Koran, carried out here in such a picturesque and conscientious fashion, I thought first of the gin-palaces of London, where the workman and outcast brutalize themselves amidst enormous window-panes and polished brass, glittering under the thousand lights of gas and electricity. I thought next of the life of "the upper ten thousand," so complicated, and made so costly by all the luxury of toilette and table, so well described by Lady John Manners, and I asked myself if it is by the refinements of luxury that we must measure the degree of the civilization of nations?

M. Renan, speaking, I think, of John the Baptist, has written some beautiful words on this subject. Is not the Forerunner, living upon locusts in the wilderness, clothed only with a camel's hair girdle, announcing the approach of the kingdom and the speedy triumph of justice, the highest type of human life? Certainly there is an excess of destitution which degrades and brutalizes, but that is less true in the East than in our ruder climates, and especially in our great agglomerations of human beings.

I found already at Bosna-Brod the shop and Turkish houses of the kind met with throughout the whole peninsula. The shop is an unclosed stall; it is shut up at night by means of two large horizontal shutters; the upper one, raised and slanted, forms a ceiling; the lower one falls forward and becomes the counter on which the goods are exhibited, and where the merchant sits cross-legged. Turkish houses here are generally square, roofed with small pieces of wood. The ground-floor is ordinarily used as a shop, or sometimes even as a stable. The frames

and partitions are of beams; the inside is of planks or, in the poorer houses, of clay. The first story overhangs the basement, and is supported by corbels of wood, which produce picturesque effects of light and shade. Only we must not forget that in Bosnia the Mussulmans are the well-to-do class; they are merchants, shopkeepers, artisans, landlords, rarely merely labourers or workmen. The habitation is divided into two parts, each having a separate entrance; on one side the harem for women, on the other the *selamlık* for men. Although the Bosnian Mussulman has only one wife, he adheres more strongly to the Mohammedan customs than the true Turks. The windows on the women's side are provided with a screen of wood or cut paper. I saw a number of the *Neue Freie Presse* transformed into *muchebak*. A verandah extends along the men's side, on which the master sits and enjoys his *kaif* and his pipe.

The street was filled with a great variety of races. Shepherds, hardly clothed in coarse white stuff, hanging in tatters, a rag bound turban-wise around the head, were bringing buffaloes and sheep back from their pastures, raising a thick dust, gilded by the setting sun. These poor people represent the *rayas*, the oppressed and over-taxed race—they are the Christians. Some women, the face hidden under the *yaschmak*, and the whole body concealed by the domino called *feredje*, walked like geese, and resembled moving packages returning home. Children, boys and girls, with wide red or green trousers and small red caps, played in the sand; they had clear complexions and beautiful wide black eyes. Some Jewish merchants advanced slowly, wrapped in a large *cafetan* trimmed with fur—in June; with their long, pointed beard, their Arabian nose, and their turban, they are admirable representatives of dignity and nobility. They seemed patriarchs of the land of Canaan. Italian masons, in yellow corduroy breeches, splashed all over with mortar, with their jacket over their right shoulder, walked singing away from their work. European labour is coming, western houses are rising.

A large café à la Vienne is being built alongside of the small wooden inns opposite the station. Already in a canteen where Pilsener beer is sold there is a billiard-table. This is the future: activity in production; improvidence or insanity in consumption. Lastly, there passed proudly on horseback or in open carriages elegant officers of charming bearing. This is the occupation, and Austria.

In re-crossing the bridge over the Save I remembered that it was from here that Prince Eugène started for his memorable expedition of 1697. He had only five regiments of cavalry and 2,500 foot soldiers. Following the road by the side of the Bosna, he quickly took Oboj, Maglay, Zeptche, even the strong castle of Vranduk, and appeared before the capital Sarajewo. He hoped that all the Christians would rise at his call. Alas! crushed by too long and too cruel oppression, they dared not stir. The Pacha, Delta-ban-Mustapha, defended himself energetically. Eugène had no siege artillery. It was the 11th of September, and winter was drawing near. The brave captain was compelled to beat a retreat, but he returned to Brod with hardly any loss. The expedition had lasted altogether only twenty days: there was no material result, but the moral effect was great everywhere. It revealed the weakness of that formidable Power which had just besieged Vienna and made the whole of Europe tremble. The hour of decadence had struck.

However, till lately the Mussulman *Bey*s of Bosnia crossed the Save to plunder the Croats. Guard-houses for vedettes of the frontier regiments were set up on the Austrian bank: they were raised high on wooden piles to lift them above the inundations and to extend the radius of their observations. It was not a useless precaution. From 1831 to 1835 the Austrian General, Waldstätten, struggled against the Bosnian *Bey*s, and bombarded and burned Vakuf, Avale, Terzac, and Gross-Kladusch, on Turkish territory, without protest from the Porte. Even in 1839 Jellatchitch had to resist the incursions of the *Bey*s, who crossed the Save, burned the houses, strangled

the men, and carried off the flocks and women. These raids, during the last fifteen years in which they happened, did damage within the borders of the Croat districts to the extent of about forty millions of francs. It was but yesterday, and in Central Europe, that these barbarisms were enacted, such as France would not allow in Tunis, nor Russia in the *khanats* of Central Asia.

Before going further into Bosnia I wished to know its history. I stopped a few days at Brod to study the documents and books that were kindly given me, amongst which I found the following particularly useful: "Das Vilayet Bosnien," by G. Thoemmel; "Studien uber Bosnien und Herzegovina," by Roskiewitz; "Bosnien," by Schweiger-Lerchenfeldt, and finally an excellent book, "Bosnien Land und Leute," by Adolf Strausz. I will give an epitome of Bosnian history which is indispensable to a right comprehension of the present situation and the difficulties to be encountered by Austria.

No country on the face of our unfortunate planet has been oftener ravaged, no land so often soaked with the blood of its inhabitants. At the dawn of history Bosnia formed part of Illyria. It was said to have been already peopled by Slav tribes. Rome conquered all this region as far as the Danube, and annexed it to Dalmatia. Two provinces were formed, *Dalmatia maritima* and *Dalmatia interna*, or *Illyris barbara*. Order reigned, and as the interior communicated with the coast, the whole country flourished. Important ports grew up on the littoral, Zara, Scardona, Salona, Naron, Makarska, Cattaro; military posts were established in the interior, and amongst others a large emporium, Dalminium, of which no trace has been found. Very few remains of Roman civilization have escaped the successive devastations—some baths at Banjaluka, baths and ruins of a temple at Novi-Bazar, a bridge at Mostar, another bridge near Sarajewo, and some inscriptions.

At the fall of the empire came the Goths, then the Avars, who, for two centuries, burned and massacred, and

turned the whole country into a desert. They besieged Constantinople in the time of the Emperor Heraclius; he drove them back, and demanded the help of the Slav tribes inhabiting Pannonia, beyond the Danube, to conquer them completely. In 630 the Croats began to occupy the present Croatia, Slavonia, and the north of Bosnia; and in 640 the Servians, of the same race and language, exterminated the Avars and peopled Servia, Southern Bosnia, Montenegro, and Dalmatia. The ethnic situation which exists to-day dates from this epoch.

At the beginning, the sovereignty of Byzantium was acknowledged. But the conversion of these tribes, of identical race, to two different Christian Rites created an antagonism which still exists. The Croats were converted first by missionaries from Rome; they thus adopted Latin letters and Latin ritual; the Servians, on the contrary, and consequently part of the inhabitants of Bosnia, were brought to Christianity by Cyril and Methodius, who, coming from Thessalonica, brought the characters and rites of the Eastern Church. About 860 Cyril translated the Bible into Slav, inventing an alphabet which bears his name, and which is still in use. The origin of written Jougo-Slav literature must therefore be referred to him.

In 874 Budimir, the first Christian king of Bosnia, Croatia, and Dalmatia, called a Diet upon the plain of Dalminium, where he tried to establish a regular organization. It was about this time that the name Bosnia appeared for the first time. It is said to be derived from a Slav tribe, coming originally from Thrace. In 905 Brisimir, King of Servia, annexed Croatia and Bosnia; but this union did not last long. The sovereignty of Byzantium ceased in these parts after the year 1000. It was gained by Ladislaus, King of Hungary, about 1091. In 1103 Coloman, King of Hungary, added the titles of *Rex Ramæ* (Herzegovina), then of *Rex Bosniæ*. Since then Bosnia has always been a dependence of the crown of Saint Stephen. Also the tenth *ban* of Bosnia, whose long reign of thirty-six years (1168 to 1204) was so

glorious, who was the first here to have money stamped with his effigy, and who ensured for his country a prosperity unheard of since the Roman times, the famous Kulin, was called *Fiduciarius Regni Hungariæ*.

About this time some Albigenes came to Bosnia, who converted to their beliefs a large number of the people who were called *Catare*, in German *Patarenen*. In Bosnia they received and adopted the name of Bogomile, which means "loving God." Nothing is more tragic than the history of this heresy. It took its rise in Syria, in the seventh century; its adepts were named Paulicians, because they invoked the doctrine of Paul, and adopted at the same time Manicheism, the dualism of the two eternal principles, good and evil. But their success sprang from their social theories; they preached the apostle's doctrines of equality, charity, austerity of life; they strongly condemned the riches and corruption of the clergy. They were the Christian socialists of the time. The Byzantine emperors massacred them by hundreds of thousands, especially after they had compelled Basil, the Macedonian, to grant them peace and tolerance. Driven away and dispersed, they carried their beliefs to Bulgaria on the one side, and the South of France on the other. The Vaudois, the Hussites, and consequently the Reformation, certainly came through them. They became in Bosnia a chief factor, both of its history and of its present situation. The great *Ban Kulin* became a Bogomile. His successors and the Bosnian magnates constantly upheld this heresy, because they hoped in this way to create a National Church, and free themselves from the influence of Rome and Hungary. The Hungarian kings, in obedience to the Pope, ceaselessly endeavoured to extirpate them, and their frequent wars of extermination provoked the hatred of the Bosnians.

About 1230 the Franciscans, who have also played an important part in politics and religion, appeared upon the scene. It is to them that Catholicism owes its survival to the present day, in the face of the Orthodox (Oriental) Church on the one hand, and the Bogomiles, who became

Mussulmans, on the other. In 1238 the first great crusade was organized by Bela IV. of Hungary, in obedience to Pope Gregory VII. The whole country was devastated, and the Bogomiles nearly all massacred, except a number who escaped to the forests and mountains. In 1245 the Hungarian Bishop of Kalocsa himself led a second crusade. In 1280 a third crusade was undertaken by Ladislaus IV., King of Hungary, in order to regain the Pope's favour. The Bogomiles, with the dethroned *Ban* Ninoslav, and many magnates at their head, defended themselves with the courage of despair. They were vanquished, and many were massacred, but the nature of the country forbade a complete extermination such as that which rooted out the Albigenses.

About the year 1300 Paul of Brebir, *banus Croatorum et Bosniae dominus*, finally added Herzegovina to Bosnia.

Under the *Ban* Stephen IV., the Emperor of Servia, the great Dushan, occupied Bosnia, but it soon regained its independence (1355), and under Stephen Tvartko, who took the title of king, the country enjoyed a last period of peace and prosperity. We can form some idea of it by the splendours of Tvartko's coronation in the Greek convent of Milosevo, near Priepolje, in the midst of a numerous assemblage of prelates of both Rites, and Bosnian and Dalmatian magnates. He took the title of King of Servia, because he conquered part of it, and he also annexed Rascia, that is, the present *Sangiac* of Novi-Bazar, which still continues to form a part of Bosnia. He founded the present capital, Sarajewo, and he compiled the Dushan code of laws, which established order and justice. Notwithstanding the entreaties of the Popes, and of the missionaries of Louis the Great of Hungary, he refused to persecute the Bogomiles; the three confessions enjoyed a like tolerance; but even before his death the Turks appeared on the frontiers. At the memorable and decisive battle of Kossovo, which gave them Servia, 30,000 Bosnians were engaged, and, though retreating, stopped the conqueror. Under Tvartko II., the second king, who was a Bogomile, Bosnia

enjoyed some years' peace (1326-1443). Then followed a bloody interlude of civil war. His successor, Stephen Thomas, wishing to obtain the help of Hungary and the Pope, abjured the Bogomile faith and endeavoured to extirpate heretics; this was a persecution even more cruel and pitiless than the former ones; numbers of people were massacred everywhere, and the towns burned. The Diet of Konjitcha of 1446 adopted the edicts dictated by the grand Inquisitor Zarai, which were so severe that 40,000 Bogomiles left the country. It was the Bosnian "Revocation of the Edict of Nantes." These cruel measures raised a formidable insurrection, headed by a large number of magnates, and even some ecclesiastics. King Thomas had the support of Hungary. A fearful civil war devastated the country, and prepared it for bondage. Thomas was killed by his own son, who also murdered the widow, and appealed to the Turks for help. Mohammed II., who had just taken Constantinople (1453), advanced with a formidable army of 150,000 men, which nothing could resist. The country was laid waste: 30,000 young men were circumcised and enrolled amongst the janissaries; 200,000 prisoners were made slaves; the towns which resisted were burned; the churches turned into mosques, and the land confiscated by the conquerors (1463). Amidst these horrors an extraordinary fact happened. Angèle Zwisdovitch, prior of the Franciscan Convent of Fojnitcha, presented himself before the fierce Sultan in his camp at Milodras, and obtained an "*atname*," which granted to his order complete protection, both as to person and property.

A period of terrible struggle lasted from 1463 till the definite conquest in 1527. Some fortresses, amongst others that of Jaitche, had resisted. The Hungarians and bands of Croats frequently vanquished the Turkish bands, especially when they were led by the legendary heroes, Matthias and John Corvinus. But the Turks advanced systematically; when they meant to take a fortress they laid waste the surrounding country during the winter,



burned everything, and carried away the inhabitants for slaves; then, in the summer, they began the siege. For want of provisions, in the midst of an absolutely desert district, the place was compelled to surrender. When the battle of Mohacz (August 29, 1526) gave Hungary to the Ottomans, Jaitche the last rampart of Bosnia, whose defence had inspired acts of legendary courage, fell in its turn in 1527. A strange circumstance facilitated the Mussulman conquest. To save their wealth, the greater number of magnates, and almost all the Bogomiles, who were exasperated by the cruel persecutions directed against them, went over to Islamism. From that time they became the most ardent followers of Mohammedanism, whilst keeping the language and names of their ancestors. They fought everywhere in the forefront of the battles which gained Hungary for the Turks. From time to time their bands crossed the Save and ravaged Istria, Carniola, and even threatened the lands of Venice. After the memorable defeat of the Turks before Vienna, their power was broken. In 1689 and 1697 the Croat troops invaded Bosnia. The treaty of Carlovitz in 1689, and that of Passarovitz of 1718, restricted the Turks to the southern side of the Danube and the Save.

In order to thoroughly understand the opposition that Austria may meet with from the Bosnian Mussulmans, we must remember that it is they who rose in arms against all the reforms that Europe, in the name of modern principles, wrested from the Porte. After the destruction of the janisaries and the reforms of Mohammed, they rose in rebellion and drove away the governor. Hussein, the captain of Gradachatch, put himself at the head of the revolted *Beys*, who, joined with the Albanians, took the towns of Prisren, Ipek, Sofia, and Nich, pillaged Bulgaria, and wished to dethrone the Sultan—"sold to the Giaours." The insurrection was not put down in Bosnia till 1831. In 1836-37-39 there were fresh risings. The *hattischerif* of Gulhané, who proclaimed equality between Mussulmans and Christians, aroused a more formidable insurrection

than the preceding ones. Omar Pacha, after suppressing it, definitely broke the power of the *Beys* by taking away all their privileges. We have proof how the times are changed when we see that the troubles of 1875, which brought about the Austrian occupation and the present situation, arose not from the *Beys*, but from the *rayas*, who till then had been fleeced and ill-treated without resistance, so completely were they crushed and kept down. Some useful conclusions may be drawn from this short summary of the past history of Bosnia.

First: History, race, and geography necessitate the re-union of Dalmatia and Bosnia. This unfortunate country has known three periods of prosperity—under the Romans, then under the great Ban Kulin, and, lastly, under King Tvartko, and it was when commerce and civilization reached the interior by the Dalmatian littoral.

Second: Intolerance and religious persecution have ruined the country, facilitated the Ottoman conquest, and provoked hatred of the Hungarian name. The three confessions must therefore be treated in the future on a ground of complete equality.

Third: The Mussulmans form an element of opposition and of dangerous reaction, difficult to assimilate. They must therefore be carefully handled, but their power must be diminished as much as possible, and, above all, no obstacles must be thrown in the way if they wish to leave the country.

It is the good fortune of Servia, Bulgaria, and Roumelia that the Mussulmans, being Turks, have gone, or are going, away. Here most of them remain, being Slavs. From this arise great difficulties of many kinds.

To go from Brod to Sarajewo I had not to repeat the eventful journey described by former travellers. I started at six in the morning by the railway, now finished, and arrived about eleven, in the most comfortable manner. The line is very narrow, the train goes slowly, and stops for a long time at every station, but the country is very beautiful, and the inhabitants are strongly coloured with

local peculiarities ; I therefore did not complain that I was not going by express. It seemed to me like travelling in a carriage, as formerly in Italy. I observed all I could ; I even questioned my travelling companions, and I took notes. I had by my side a Counsellor of Finances, *Finanz-Rath*, that is, a head clerk of the treasury, who was returning from a tour of inspection ; he thoroughly understood the agriculture of the country, its agrarian system, and its economic conditions. I had first taken him for a cavalry officer in undress ; he wore the military cap, a short tight brown jacket, with stars on the collar indicating his rank, numerous pockets in front, tight trousers, Hungarian boots, and a large sabre. Magistrates, chiefs of districts, forest guards, the guards of the trains, the police, indeed every official—all wear this uniform. The cut is always the same, but the colour varies according to the branch of the service to which it belongs. This is an excellent costume, convenient for travelling, and suited to inspire respect in the inhabitants of this scarcely yet peaceful country.

At first the line followed the Save at some distance. It crossed great deserted plains, which were very fertile, to judge by the height of the grass and the vigorous growth of the trees. But it was the March, recently the scene of frontier combats. We ascended near a small tributary of the Save, the Ukrina, as far as Dervent, a large village where, not far from the wooden mosque, with its sharp minaret covered with zinc, shining in the sun, rose a chapel of the Eastern Rite, also wholly of wood, with a little separate campanile protecting the bell. After this the line made great curves to mount the ridge which separated us from the basin of the Bosna. Some day the line must be continued from Sarajewo, without leaving the Bosna, to Samac, where there is already the terminus of the line to Vrpolje, and which ought to be prolonged in a straight line to Essek by Djakovo.

Here and there we see cottages built of clay on a foundation of dry stones, and covered with pieces of wood. It is here that the tenants, called here *kmets*, live. The Mussul-

man owners live together in the towns or their environs. Two clay constructions rise at the side of the farmer's dwelling. One is a very small stable—for nearly all the farm animals are kept in the open air—the other is to protect the maize. Each farm has its plum orchard of about an acre, which, with the poultry, brings in a little ready money. These violet plums, very fine and abundant, form when dried an important article of exportation; *slivovitz*, the national brandy, is made of them. The wheat-fields are guarded by hedges of dead branches, showing the habit of leaving the flocks and herds to wander where they will. Everything betokens lack of care and extreme poverty. The small windows are few in number, and have no glass. They are closed by shutters, so that there is a choice of evils: cold or darkness. There is no chimney, the smoke escapes by the joints of the planks which form the roof. Nothing is well kept up; the surroundings of the habitation are left in a state of nature; for vegetables, only some heads of garlic; but there are some flowers, for the women like to wear them in their hair; however, the soil would easily grow market garden produce, for at Velika I saw a nice little garden, kept by the station-master, where peas, carrots, onions, salad, and radishes grew abundantly between borders of ornamental plants. With such a fertile soil each family might easily have a little kitchen garden. But how should the *raya* have thought of this when his possessions and his life itself were at the mercy of his master? I see everywhere the effects of this terrible scourge, despotism, which has ruined the Turkish Empire, and struck like a curse the most beautiful countries in the world.

The valley of the Bosna is here very beautiful, but man has done everything to devastate, and nothing to embellish and utilize it. The fine trees have been cut down; large wild pastures extend along each side of the river, broken by brushwood; sheep and oxen wander freely about. Though the Bosna has much water, it is not navigable; it flows over shallows and rocks which in some places cause

rapids; it would have been easy to make it passable for boats. Towards the south three ranges of purple mountains rise one above the other; the highest peaks of the Velyna-Planina and the Vrana-Planina are still covered with snow, and stand out clearly against the blue sky. The fields are badly cultivated. What a contrast to the fine crops of the neighbourhood of Djakovo! Four-fifths of the fields are fallow, scarcely any wheat is seen, always maize, and a few oats. The cultivators are still ploughing in the early days of June, before sowing the maize. The plough is heavy and rough, with two handles, and a very small iron share. Iron is used as little as possible here, it is scarce and dear. Four oxen find it difficult to turn the furrows of a good clay soil. A woman leads them and encourages them in a hoarse voice. She wears, as in Slavonia, a tunic of strong hemp, but she has a black jacket and girdle, and a red kerchief on her head, arranged like those of the peasants about Rome. The man who holds the plough is dressed in coarse white woollen cloth, his enormous leather girdle might hold a whole arsenal of arms and implements, but he has neither *yatagan* nor pistol. He is a *raya*, and besides, all are still forbidden to carry arms. Long yellow hair escapes from beneath a red fez, round which white stuff is rolled in turban fashion. Below his aquiline nose is the curve of a proud moustache; he represents the blonde type, which is common here.

We arrived at Doboj. It is the representative of the small towns of Bosnia. Seen from a distance it is picturesque; the white houses of the *Agas*, or Mussulman proprietors, rise one above another on the side of the hill amongst the trees, and are crowned by an old fortress which has sustained many sieges. Three or four mosques, one in ruins—a thing not often seen here—lift up their pointed minarets like the arrow from the bow. We reached Doboj after crossing the Bosna by a bridge—a rarity in this country. An important road starting from here goes to Servia by Tuzla and Zwornik. Gloomy and proud Mussul-

mans in red turbans come to the train; they take their own saddles off the horses hired from the peasants and carry them away with them. These horses have cost the usual price of one gulden—less than two shillings—a day.

Great commotion! The military governor of the province was arriving with his staff, after a tour of inspection of the Eastern Provinces; they saluted him with profound respect, as he is viceroy here. I admired the graceful bearing, the beautiful uniform, and distinguished manners of the Austrian officers.

The train stopped at Maglaj for dinner. Moderate cooking, but there is enough to support life, and the cost is small—one gulden, including wine, which comes from Herzegovina. It is not produced in Bosnia. Maglaj is more important than Doboï; the houses, with their façades and balconies of stained wood, creep up a steep hill, cut in two by a small, deep, green valley; the gardens are full of fine cherry and pear trees. There are many mosques, one of which has the typical dome. The convex line of the dome and the vertical line of the minaret seem to me an admirable specimen of grace and simplicity, especially if a beautiful tree, palm or plantain, rises to one side. The outline of our churches is not so fine; even the Greek temple is scarcely superior.

Italian masons were working at the station of Zeptche, as at almost all others. The Piedmontese get from the quarries here a hard limestone of a beautiful golden tint, which is almost marble.

The line traverses a magnificent defile, which is defended by the strong castle of Vranduk. There is only room for the Bosna: we go by its side, with steep slopes to our left, which are completely wooded. I noticed amongst the oaks, beeches, and elms, some walnut trees; they seem to have grown spontaneously, which is exceptional in Europe. Fine trunks of trees are rotting on the ground; wood is superabundant, for lack of population and roads. The line winds round the cliff, on the top of which Vranduk is

situated. The old wooden houses cling to the steep rocks ; it is the most romantic site imaginable. The road, cut in the side of the mountain, passes through the embattled gate of the fortress. The garrison was composed of retired janissaries. The old Slav name of this town, " Vratnik," means gate ; it was really the gate between Lower Bosnia and Sarajewo. The Grenadiers of Prince Eugène took it by assault, and the Turks, in their flight, threw themselves from the height of these rocks into the river below.

Very soon we entered the beautiful plain of Zenitcha. It is very fertile and tolerably cultivated. Important little town, with a future ; for, close to the station, coal is found very near the surface ; it is only lignite ; however, it is used for our engine, and will do for fuel for the factories that will spring up later. The Mussulman town is some distance away : already by the side of the line stone houses and a hotel have been built. Ladies, in fresh summer toilettes, have come to see the train arrive. The Austrian post comes from Travnik by a good road, recently put in repair. One might almost think oneself in the West, were it not for some *Beys*, who smoke their long pipes, immovable and grave at the sight of novelties and foreigners. The transformation will be effected quickly, wherever the railway comes.

Before reaching Vioka, we pass through another defile, not so narrow as that of Vranduk, but more wonderful. High mountains enclose the Bosna on both sides ; the sandstone rocks of which they are composed have been worn by erosion into the most fantastic forms. Here are giants standing upright, like the famous rocks of Hansheilig, by the side of the Eger, near Carlsbad. Further away is the colossal head of a dragon or lion, in the midst of the oaks. In other places there are large tables balanced on a slight pillar ready to crumble away ; then, again, there are gigantic mushrooms, or round cheeses, piled one upon another. In the Upper Missouri, and in Saxon Switzerland, similar formations may be seen. I have seldom seen a gorge so beautiful and pictu-

resque. "*Hoch romantisch!*" exclaimed my travelling companions.

When we emerged from this defile, in Upper Bosnia, night had come. It was half-past eleven before we reached Sarajewo; carriages with two horses were waiting, but the officers and numerous travellers took them by assault. There were so many visitors that I could not get a room in the Grand Hôtel de l'Europe. I could scarcely get a bed in a small inn, "*Austria*," which was also a *café-billiard*. The Grand Hôtel would not be out of place in the Ring at Vienna, or in the *Radial Strasse* at Pesth. It is a majestic building of three stories, with cornice, cordons, and mouldings of imposing character. There is a restaurant on the ground-floor, which is surrounded with mirrors, has painted ceiling, gilt cornice, ebony billiard tables, papers and periodicals: one might believe oneself to be in the Rue de Rivoli, in the Hôtel Continental. There is nothing like this at Constantinople. It is thanks to the Austrians that we can now comfortably arrive at and remain in the centre of this country, formerly so inaccessible.

In the morning I wandered where chance led. The June sun was strong, but the air was fresh, for Sarajewo is 1750 feet above the level of the sea, that is, about the same height as Geneva or Zurich. I went along the principal street, which is called *Franz Joseph Strasse*, in honour of the Emperor of Austria. This seems already to indicate a definite possession. First, there is a large church with four cupolas, one above another in the style of those of Moscow, it is colour washed, white and light blue. The aspect is imposing. It is the cathedral of the Orthodox Oriental worship. The bell tower is still unfinished. The Turkish Governor put in force an ancient Mussulman law, which forbade Christians to raise their buildings higher than the mosques.

In the street I found, first, houses and shops like those of the West, booksellers, grocers, photographers, milliners, hairdressers; but soon I came to the Mussulman quarter. In the middle of the town was an open space covered with



ruins—the consequence of the fire of 1878. But already good stone and brick houses were being built on all sides; only, I was told, land is very dear, £3 to £4 per square mètre. To the right rose a fountain; the jet of crystal water springs through a slab of white marble, on which are engraved some verses of the Koran. A young Mussulman girl, not yet veiled, with wide yellow trousers, a fair bare-armed Austrian servant, with a rose-coloured dress and white apron, and a gipsy, only dressed in a half-open tunic, were filling vases of ancient shape. By the side strong porters, *hamals*, were seated with crossed legs. They were dressed like those of Constantinople; the three types were well marked; it was a perfect picture. These fountains, which are found throughout the peninsula, as far as the passes of the Balkans, are one of the admirable institutions of Islam. They have been made and kept up by money left for that purpose, in order to enable the faithful to perform the ablutions imposed by their ritual. Islamism, like Christianity, inspires its followers with the useful sentiment that they are fulfilling a religious duty and pleasing God when they give the firstfruits of their wealth for the public good.

I arrived at the Tchartsia; it is the merchant's quarter. Not even at Cairo is the appearance more thoroughly Oriental. A network of small streets with open shops, occupied by men of various trades, branches from a long open space, with a fountain and a Turkish café. Each trade has a street of its own. The artisan is also the merchant, and works in sight of the public. The workers in copper are the most interesting and numerous. In Bosnia, Christians and Mussulmans prefer copper jars because they do not break; it is only the very poorest who use earthenware. Some articles are of an artistic character: as the large trays, with engraved patterns, on which the Turkish dinner is served, and which also make a table for eight or ten people; the coffee-pots of Arab shape; plain and engraved jars of all sizes, of pure outline, copied from the Greek; cups, pitchers, and coffee-mills in the form of tubes.

The shoemakers' street was also very interesting. We may see there the whole collection of ordinary Oriental shoes, low boots of red or yellow leather; ladies' velvet slippers, embroidered with gold; but above all an infinite variety of *opankas*, the national shoe of the Jougo-Slavs; there were some charming little ones for children. The cobblers worked squatting under the stall.

The saddlers offered straps, bridles, but chiefly very wide belts, of various kinds; some quite plain, for the *rayas*; others, richly embroidered and stitched with bright-coloured silk, for the *Beys*; they are also a speciality of the national costume.

The potters had only very coarse ware, but the form was often good and the decoration original. They make many pipe-heads of red clay.

The furriers have a great deal of custom; as the winter is long and cold, from 15° to 16° below the Centigrade zero, the Bosnians all wear *cafetans*, or long overcoats lined and trimmed with fur. The country people have only sheepskins, which they prepare themselves. From 50,000 to 60,000 fur animals are killed in the forests of the province, but, strange to say, the skins are sent to Germany to be prepared.

The goldsmiths make only a rough style of jewellery. Rich Mussulmans prefer foreign workmanship, and the wives of the *rayas* wear strung money, when they dare, and have it left. I noticed some pretty articles in silver filigree, egg-cups to hold the tiny coffee-cups, buckles, bracelets, and buttons.

The smiths make horses' shoes, which are simply a disc with a hole in the middle.

The locksmiths are not very skilful, but they make sword-hilts and door-knockers fixed on a rose of elegant Arabian design. Since the wearing of arms has been prohibited, neither guns, pistols, nor *yatagans* are exhibited; I saw only knives and scissors tastefully inlaid with gold, silver, and a sort of black enamel.

There were no cabinet-makers; furniture is unnecessary

in Turkish houses, where there are neither tables, chairs, washstands, nor beds. The divan with its cushions and and rugs replaces them all.

The handicrafts exercised in the Tchartsia are the monopoly of the Mussulmans. Each forms a guild with its own rules, which have been recently confirmed. The social state is exactly the same here as in the Middle Ages in the West. The feudal system reigns in the country, that of guilds in the towns. All the important towns of Bosnia have their Tchartsia. In visiting them we see all the industries of the country in action, except those which are carried on at home; the latter are the most important; they include the fabrication of all woven materials, linen and sacking, and the various woollen tissues for garments. They also make many carpets of fast colours, which the women extract themselves from the colouring plants of the country. The patterns are simple, the tones harmonious, and the tissue durable, but they are seldom made for sale. Work retains here its primitive character; it is executed to satisfy the wants of the worker, not with a view of exchange or custom.

In some streets of the Tchartsia the Mussulman women were seated on the ground. The *yashmak* concealed their face, and the ample folds of the *ferelje* hid their body. They seemed very poor; by their side were handkerchiefs and embroidered towels that they wished to sell, but they made no gesture and spoke no word to obtain customers, they waited motionless, telling the price when asked, but nothing more. Do they act thus in virtue of their fatalistic ideas, or because they feel that in trying to sell they are doing a thing scarcely ever permitted to Mohammedan women? How different also is the manner of the Mussulman merchant from that of the Christian and the Jew! He does not offer his goods, nor permit himself to bargain; he is respectable, and will not overcharge. The others dispute for customers, extol their wares in a loud voice, and ask absurd prices, which they reduce to half, a third, quarter, finishing always by fleecing the buyer. Embroi-

dery of stuffs, handkerchiefs, towels, and tunics is the principal occupation of Mussulman women. They do not read; they occupy themselves very little with household affairs, and do no other handiwork. It is the pride of each family to have the greatest possible quantity of embroidered linen; therefore they make articles embroidered with gold thread and silk which are artistic masterpieces, and are preserved from generation to generation.

The Mussulmans who have a shop in the Tchartsia, like the London merchants, do not live there. Their house is set amongst the trees of the neighbouring hills. About nine in the morning they come and open the two great shutters of the shop, where they work and sell; it is shut when the sun sets, and sometimes also during the day, when they go to the mosque to pray. The rules of Islam have no more scrupulous observers than amongst these followers of the Slav race.

Through mutual deference, the Tchartsia reposes three days a week—Friday for the rest day of the Mussulmans, Saturday for the Sabbath of the Jews, and Sunday for the Christians.

On my first visit, a Thursday, the square and the neighbouring streets were crowded. The aspect of this crowd was more thoroughly Oriental than I have seen even in Egypt, because all, without religious distinction, wear the Turkish costume—the red, brown, or green turban, brown jacket, and wide, deep red or blue Zouave trousers. It was a real feast of colour.

We may recognize the dominant race, not by dress, but by their bearing. The Mussulman *Aga*, or even simple merchant, has a proud and lordly air; the Christian or Jew has the restless look and humble mien of one who fears the lash. Here we have a *Bey* dividing the crowd on his little horse, which holds its head high like its master: every one stood respectfully aside from his servants, who preceded him, he was like the magnate of the Middle Ages. Some *rayas* in tatters were there to sell sheep, geese, turkeys, and trout: they asked nearly four shillings

for a turkey, which is a high price in such a primitive country.

Here, as throughout the East, the sheep provides almost exclusively the butchers' meat. Bulgarians sell vegetables which they cultivate every spring, on land which they rent. I saw a horse and his pack-saddle sold by auction for about thirty-six francs. It is true that it was a poor old animal, thin and sore. Everything is carried by beasts of burden, even on the newly-made roads. Carts are unknown, except in the Pozavina, a district in the north-east, bordered by the Save and Servia—the only part where there is any extent of level ground. Horses bring the firewood to the market. When the colt has been broken to the pack-saddle he never leaves it till his death—neither in the stable, nor in the meadow. I went through the *Bezestan*—that is, the bazaar. It is like all the Eastern ones—a long, vaulted gallery, with recesses to the right and left, where the merchants exhibit their wares; but everything comes from Austria, even the stuffs and slippers of gold embroidered velvet in the style of Constantinople.

Near by is the mosque of Usref-Bey, which I visited. It is the chief one of the town, which is said to possess more than eighty. I first entered a large court which is surrounded by a wall, but latticed arcades allow the passers to see the holy place. In the midst rises a fountain, shaded by a large tree, whose branches also throw moving shadows upon the white marble pavement. This fountain is composed of a raised basin protected by a wrought-iron trellis, from whence nine mouths project the water into a lower basin. Above it rises a cupola, supported by columns, amidst which a circular bench is fixed. I sat down there, it was near noon, the coolness was delicious; the water flowed and fell with a gentle murmur, which accompanied the cooing of the doves. Mussulmans were making their ablutions before entering the mosque: with the most conscientious care they were washing their hands, feet, arms to the elbow, face especially, the nose, ears, and neck; others were seated by my side, telling their beads

and reciting verses of the Koran, rhythmically raising and lowering the voice, and inclining the head to the right and left. Religious sentiment inspires the true believers of Islam with unequalled power: it lifts them into a higher world; wherever they are, they fulfil the duties of their ritual, without troubling themselves about those around. I have never felt more strongly the elevating power of Mohammedanism.

The mosque opens from a gallery which is supported by beautiful old pillars with bronze bases and capitals. The dead are laid there before burial. The mosque is very large; this unique cupola empty, without altar, without aisles, without furniture, with the faithful kneeling on the mats and carpets, saying their prayers and kissing the ground from time to time, is truly the temple of monotheism—much more than the Catholic Church, where the pictures and statues recall the polytheistic worships of India.

How does it happen that Islamism, which is at the bottom only Mosaicism, with excellent hygienic and moral rules, should have everywhere produced decay, so much so that the richest countries of antiquity have become depopulated and seem struck with a curse since the reign of Mohammedanism? I have read many dissertations on this subject; they do not seem to me to have thoroughly elucidated the point. Here, better than anywhere, can we study the influence of the Koran, because race and climate have exercised no influence. The Bosnian Mussulmans are still pure Slavs: they know neither Turkish nor Arabic; they recite the verses and prayers of the ritual, which they know by heart, but they no more understand them than the Italian peasants who repeat the *Ave Maria* in Latin. They have retained their Slav name with the Croat termination of *itch*, and even their coats-of-arms, which are still preserved in the convent of Kreschova. The Kapetanovitch, the Tchengitch, the Raykovitch, the Sokslovitch, the Philippovitch, the Tvarkovitch, the Kulinovitch, are proud of the part played by their ancestors before the arrival of the Osmanlis. They despise the officials at Constantinople,

especially such as wear European dress; they look on them as renegades and traitors, worse than the Christians. Pure Slav blood flowed in their veins, and at the same time they were more fanatically Mussulman than the Sultan or even the Scheik-ul-islam. They have always been at secret or declared antagonism with the capital. Here, also, the demoralizing force of polygamy was not felt: they have never had more than one wife, and the family has preserved the patriarchal character of the old *zadruga*. The father, the *starechina*, exerts absolute authority, and the young people are very respectful towards the old ones. Still, it is certain that, since the triumph of the Crescent, Bosnia has lost the wealth and population which she had in the Middle Ages, and it was, before the Austrian occupation, the poorest, most barbarous, most inhospitable country in Europe. That is manifestly due to the influence of Islamism. But how, and why? I will give the disastrous effects which I discern.

The true Mussulman loves neither progress, novelty, nor education; the Koran is enough for him. He is satisfied with his lot, therefore cares little for its improvement, somewhat like a Catholic monk; but at the same time he hates and despises the Christian *raya*, who is the labourer. He pitilessly despoils, fleeces, and ill-treats him, to the extent of completely ruining and destroying those families, which are the only ones who cultivate the ground: it was a state of war continued in time of peace, and transformed into a *régime* of permanent spoliation and murder.

The wife, even when she is the only one, is always an inferior being, a kind of slave, destitute of any intellectual culture; and as it is she who trains the children,—boys and girls,—the bad results are plainly seen.

There is one exception to the disastrous effects of Islam, and it is a brilliant one. In the south of Spain the Arabs introduced a wonderful civilization—agriculture, trade, science, literature, art—but it all came directly from Persia and Zoroaster, not from Arabia and Mohammed. What we call Moorish architecture is really Persian. In propor-

tion to the triumph of Islamism over Parseeism, has been the decline of Persia, and the whole of Asia Minor. Look what those Edens of the olden world have become to-day !

Near the mosque is the *turba*, or chapel, which encloses the tombs of the founder, Usref-Bey, and his wife ; and the *madrasah*, or higher school, in which the young people study the Koran, which enables them in their rank as learned men to become *softas*, *ulemas*, *kadis*, *imans* ; each has a small cell, in which he lives and prepares his food. They are supported by the revenue of the *rakoufs*.

Near by is the principal bath. It is composed of a series of rotundas surmounted with cupolas, covered outside with sheet lead, in which are inserted numerous discs of thick glass to light the interior. It is kept tolerably clean, and is warmed by underground earthenware pipes like the Roman hypocausts. The Mussulmans alone have preserved this admirable institution of the ancients, in obedience to the hygienic prescriptions of their ritual. The smallest towns in the Balkan Peninsula, in which Mohammedans are found, have their public bath, to which the men, even the poorest, go frequently, and where the women are bound to go at least once a week—on Friday. When the Mussulmans go away, the baths are no longer kept up. They have disappeared at Belgrade ; at Philippopoli the principal bath is turned into the Palace of the National Assembly. The good things which they started ought at least to be preserved for the Turks, and all the more, as they only transmitted what they had inherited from antiquity.

I went to the English Consul, Mr. Edward Freeman, for whom I had a letter of introduction given me by Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, at the Foreign Office. I met him returning from his daily ride : he is an exact personification of modern England and the perfect type of gentleman. He has the bright complexion and firm flesh of the man who takes much open-air exercise, and who, every morning, is sprinkled with the cold water of the tub. He wears, in the Indian fashion, a felt hat covered with white muslin, coat and waistcoat of Scotch tweed, leather



breeches and riding boots. His horse is thoroughbred. Everything is of the best quality, and shows extreme nicety. What a contrast with the picturesque surroundings, where, however, the people and their dress know nothing of neatness! The essence of the East is brought in contrast to that of the West. Mr. Freeman occupies a large Turkish house. The first story projects over the street, but the principal façade opens on to a large garden, where the well-known lawns are surrounded by pretty shrubs and flowers.

Mr. Freeman is a lover of hunting and fishing. He told me that trout and game are still plentiful, but that since the occupation, the price of everything is doubled, or sometimes trebled. He pays £80 for his house, and will not complain if he can keep it for £160. It is owned by a Jew, it is near the buildings of the Administration and Government, barracks, post office, and two large mosques converted into military magazines.

The *Konak*, where the General d'Appell resides, is a very important-looking palace. The other services have been installed in old Turkish houses; but they have been repaired, whitewashed, painted, and everything is of spotless cleanliness. The old Mussulman *carapace* is used by Austrian governmental departments. I gave Baron Kállay's card to Baron Nikolitch, the civil governor, and I was told that they would furnish me with all the official documents.

M. de Neumann gave me a letter to M. Scheimpflug, one of his former scholars, employed here in the department of justice, he kindly wished to be my guide during my stay at Sarajewo, and, as he is specially occupied with the Mussulman laws and the land laws, he gave me most interesting details on these subjects. I will state some of them.

According to the principle of the Koran, the soil belongs to God, then to His representative, the sovereign. The *Beys* and *Agas*, like the *Spahis* of other days, only hold their estates *spahilik*s or *tchiflik*s, as a fief, and as the reward of military service. There are five kinds of pro-

erty, which are distinguished according to the nature of the right by which they are held. There is property *milk*, which corresponds to that held in England in fee-simple. It is the nearest approach to private property of the quiritarian type, and that of the French civil code. Some great families still possess deeds of property, dating from before the Ottoman Conquest. Property *mirie* is that given in perpetuity by the State on condition of yearly rent and personal service. The new Turkish legislation has granted the power of selling or mortgaging this right, which was hereditary for the ascendant branch, the wife, and even the brothers and sisters. Property *ekvoufê* or *vakouf* is that which belongs to foundations, very similar to what existed everywhere in Europe under the ancient *régime*. The revenue of this property is not, as is thought, intended only to keep up the mosques: those who gave it intended it for purposes of general usefulness,—schools, libraries, cemeteries, baths, fountains, footpaths, plantations, hospitals, relief for the poor, infirm, and old. Each foundation has its administrative council. In the capital, a central administration, the Ministry of *vakoufs*, superintends through its agents the management of the special institutions, which are amazingly numerous throughout the Ottoman Empire.

Whilst the religious sentiment retained its power the revenue of the *vakoufs*, which had somewhat of a sacred character, reached its destination, but since demoralization and disorganization have led to universal pillage, the local administrators and their comptrollers or inspectors, openly pocket the rents of the *ekvoufê* property. This is very bad in a country where neither the State nor the Commune does anything for the public good. The *vakoufs* are an element of needful civilization. Everything which is of general utility is owing to them. The confiscation of the *vakoufs* would be an economic mistake and high treason to humanity. Is it not better to provide the means for benevolence, education, and material improvements by the revenue of an estate than by a tax? In the countries

newly detached from Turkey—Servia and Bulgaria—this property, meant for general usefulness, ought, instead of being sold, to be put under a regular administration, given and controlled by the State, like that which manages hospitals and benevolent institutions so well.

Certain people constitute houses and lands in *vakouf*, on condition that the revenues are given perpetually to their descendants; it is a kind of trust, as it was with us in the Middle Ages. Some revenues are also *ekvoufê*. It is estimated that a third of the land is occupied by *vakoufs*. All that could be done would be to use the revenue of ruined and deserted mosques for education: there are several such, even at Sarajewo.

Property *metruké* is that which serves a public use, places in the villages where the thrashing is done, where the cattle and pack-horses stand; the forests and woods of the communes. Land, situated far from any dwelling-place, "beyond hearing of the voice," is called *mevat*—that is, without owner. Such are the forests and pastures which cover the mountains. After the suppression of the insurrection of 1850 Omar Pacha proclaimed that all the forests were the property of the State; but the villagers have rights coming from long custom which must be respected.

Mussulman law, even more than Roman or French law, has put in force the principle ordinarily appealed to by economists, that work is the source of ownership. Thus the trees planted and buildings set upon another man's land form an independent property. It is so also with the Arabs in Algeria, where three proprietors often divide the produce of one field: one gathers the corn, another the figs, and the third the leaves of the ash-trees as forage for his cattle in summer. The man who has, as a good tenant, built or planted on another's land, may become the owner of the soil at a fair price, if the value of his work is greater than that of the land, which is generally the case here in the country. Throughout the whole Mussulman world, from Morocco to Java, clearing the soil for cultivation is one of the chief means of gaining property, and, if the culture

ceases, the ground is lost. At least, unless the land is pasture or lying fallow, it is lost to its owner, and becomes the property of the State, if it is left three years without cultivation. The famous Arabian juris-consult, Sidi-Kelil, whose judgments have such weight with the Mohammedan tribunals, that the French Government has had his book translated, lays down the following principle: "He who revivifies dead earth becomes its owner. If the traces of former occupation have disappeared, he who revivifies the soil acquires it." Admirable decision!

According to Mussulman law the general interest limits the rights of the private owner. He may only use and not abuse, and he must maintain the productive power of the land. He is not free to sell to whomsoever he might like. The neighbours, inhabitants of the village, and the tenantry have a right of choice or preference called *cheffaa*, or *suf*. We remember the part played by the *cheffaa* in the question of the estate of Enfida at Tunis. The Jew Lévy, doubtless remembering the method by which Dido acquired the site of Carthage, bought a large property, except a narrow strip all round. He thought the neighbours could not exercise the right of choice, because the land which touched them had not changed hands.

The *cheffaa* was found in former times everywhere amongst the Germans and Slavs, to the advantage of the inhabitants of the same village. It was a remnant of the ancient communal collectivity, and a means of preventing strangers from settling in the midst of a circle, which was really only an enlarged family.

In Bosnia the sale of landed property took place before the civil authority, in the presence of witnesses. The Act which verifies the sale of real estate, the *tapou*, was liable to a tax of 5 per cent., and must bear the signature of the Sultan, *rugra*, which could only be obtained at Constantinople. The deed of sale, the *tapou*, was an extract from a court roll, which, like the registers of our holders of mortgages, contained an exact table of the subdivision of the real estate, and of the proprietors. Unhappily Austria

has not been able to get these rolls. They will be replaced by an official statement, *cadaster*, of the extent and value of each real property, which is now being finished.

A recent law of the United States declared the labourer's house, and the ground belonging to it, to be not liable to seizure. This homestead or protective household law has existed in Bosnia and Servia from the most remote times. The creditors were compelled to leave the insolvent debtor a house, and as much land as was necessary for his support. Still further: if amongst the property for sale there was no house small enough for the future home of the insolvent, the whole of the creditors had to build one. Baron Alpi, head of the police, told M. Scheimpflug that he was surprised at the large number of people who lived on charity. In reply to questions, he stated that all these beggars were owners of a house. A recent law has confirmed the old principle of homestead which is now demanded in Germany, and about which Herr Rudolf Meyer has just published a most interesting book, "*Heimstätten und andere Wirthschaftsgezetze*" (Homestead, and other Land Laws).

Austria is confronted in Bosnia with the grave problem, which is constantly troubling the French in Algeria and Tunis, the English in India, the Russians in Central Asia—the question of what are the changes and reforms needful to adapt Mussulman legislation to Western legislation? It is a more urgent and difficult point here, because it relates to provinces which will form an integral part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and not to detached possessions—as for England, and even for France. On the other hand, Bosnia presents exceptional facilities for a thorough study of Mussulman thought and conscience. The followers of Islam, who have been the most completely formed by the Koran, and who are more fanatically devoted to it than any others, are, not Arabs, Hindoos, Turkomans, strangers to Europe by blood, language, and distance, but the Mohammedan Bosnians who speak the dialect of the Croats and of the Slovenes, and are

living near Venice, Pesth, and Vienna. It is, therefore, at Sarajewo that one can best make a thorough study of Mohammedanism, its morality and laws, and their influence on civilization.

What I learn here concerning the laws as to landed property leads me to consider them superior to those which we have borrowed from the harsh genius of Rome. They treat the rights of labour and humanity with more respect; they are more conformed to the Christian ideal and to economic justice. How does it happen that the populations living under the empire of these laws have been amongst the most unhappy on the face of the earth, where so many unfortunates are pitilessly trodden under foot and despoiled? Here is the reason that their condition grew constantly worse.

After the Ottoman Conquest the territory was, as was customary, divided into three parts—one for the Sultan, one for the clergy, one for the Ottoman proprietors. These proprietors were the Bosnian nobles, the *Bogomiles* converted to Islamism, and the *Spahis*, to whom the sovereign gave the lands in fief. The Christians, who did all the agricultural labour, became a kind of serf, called *kmets* (colons), or *rayas* (cattle). At first, and until the middle of the last century, the *kmets* had to give to the proprietors (the large, called *Beys*; and the small, *Agas*) only a tenth of the produce, without any obligation to take it to the master's dwelling; the State claimed another tenth as tax. The State, doing nothing, did not need much money, and the *Spahis* and *Beys* lived chiefly on their raids into neighbouring countries. But, by degrees, the needs and requirements of the proprietors increased till they took a third or half of all the products of their soil, delivered at their own doors, besides two or three days of compulsory service each week.

When the janissaries were no longer Prætorians, living on their pay in the barracks, but acquired lands, they were pitiless to the *rayas*, and they gave to the native *Beys* the example of unlimited extortion. The *kmets* were left with

only the barest necessities of existence, in the winters which followed bad harvests they died of hunger. Driven to despair by this systematic spoliation, and by the cruel treatment which accompanied it, they took refuge by thousands in Austria, which gave them land, and in the meantime was compelled to feed them.

Austria began to protest in 1840. The Porte, on several occasions, issued orders to the governors to interfere in favour of the *kmet*s. Finally, in 1850, after Omar Pacha had suppressed the insurrection of the *Beys*, and weakened their power, a law was enacted which still forms the basis of the existing agrarian laws. The *corrée*—compulsory unpaid labour—is absolutely abolished. The *kmet*'s share was fixed at the highest at half the produce, if the owner provided the buildings, cattle, and agricultural implements; if the working capital belonged to the cultivator, it was a third, *trétina*. In any case half the hay had to be delivered at the master's residence; but, on the other hand, he had to pay a third of the house tax, *verghi*. The tithe belonging to the State was deducted first. In barren districts the *raya* pays a fourth, fifth, or even sixth of the produce.

Whilst the tenant fulfils his obligations he cannot be evicted, but he is not fastened to the place, he is free to leave it; only, in fact, where could he go, and who is the Mussulman proprietor who would be willing to receive the deserter?

Christians may, it is true, acquire landed property. Delusive favour! the *Beys* do not leave them enough resources to profit by it. These laws ought to have put an end to the sufferings of the tenants, for they established an agrarian law which is nothing but the *metayage* which is enforced in the South of France and throughout a large part of Spain and Italy, and upon Church land in Croatia, under the name of *polovina*. In reality the fate of the unfortunate *kmet*s was worse than ever. The Mussulman proprietors, exasperated at the guarantees given to the *rayas*, which they looked upon as an infringement of their secular rights, despoiled and ill-treated the farmers more

pitilessly than ever, whilst their only appeal was to judges and Turkish officials, all Mohammedan, and hostile. The Bosnian *rayas* again sought safety in emigration. We remember the incidents of that lamentable exodus, which touched the whole of Europe, in 1873 and 1874. The Herzegovinians, more energetic, and supported by their neighbours, the Montenegrins, rose, and thus began that memorable insurrection, which resulted in those great events which have so completely modified the situation in the Peninsula.

This explanation of agrarian legislation gives no idea of the effects it produced in consequence of the manner in which it was carried out. I therefore think it useful to explain in detail the state of the *rayas* in Bosnia, during the latter years of Turkish rule, for two reasons. First, to prove that every honest man, of whatever nationality, ought to bless the Austrian occupation; in the second place, to make clear what is really the condition of the *rayas* of Macedonia, whom Russia set free by the treaty of San Stefano, and who were returned to slavery by Lord Beaconsfield amidst the applause of blinded Europe. In so writing I remain faithful to the traditions of Western Liberalism. Mr. MacColl in England, and Saint-Marc Girardin in France, have never ceased to defend, with admirable eloquence, enlightened foresight, and a thorough knowledge of facts, the rights of the *rayas*, trodden under foot and martyred, thanks to the help that England recently gave to Turkey.

The agrarian situation in Bosnia much resembles that of Ireland. Those who cultivated the land were bound to hand over the whole net produce to proprietors of a different religion; but whilst public opinion, the honour of a gentleman, and some feeling of Christian charity restrained the exactions of the English landlord, the Mussulman *Bey* was led by his religion to see in the *raya* a dog, an enemy whom one might kill, and therefore despoil mercilessly. The more conscientious and religious the English landlord is, the more he spares his tenants; the more the Mussulman is inspired by the Koran, the more cruel he is.



When the Porte proclaimed the principles taken from the West, and the equality of all subjects, without distinction of race or religion, the *Beys* would willingly have exterminated the *kmets*, if the same blow would not also have stopped the source of their revenue. They contented themselves with making the inequality more cruel than before. The numberless and nameless evils suffered by the *rayas* in Bosnia in their scattered villages passed generally unnoticed. Who would make them known? But their remembrance is preserved in the national poetry. It is in their popular songs, repeated in the evening when assembled together, to the music of the *guzla*, that the Jougo-Slavs have expressed their sufferings and their hopes. Amongst the large number of these *Yunatchke pjesme* which speak of their long martyrdom, I shall give a summary of only one—the death of Tchengitch.

Aga-Tchengitch was Governor of Herzegovina. Very brave, it was said that he had killed one hundred Montenegrins with his own hand at the battle of Grahova, in 1836. Although, as his name shows, he was of Slav blood, he treated the peasants with unheard-of ferocity: the *pjesme* depicts him raising the *haradasch*, the detested capitation imposed upon Christians as a mark of their servitude. He addresses his satellites:

“Come, Mujo, Hassan, Omar, and Jasar, get up, my good dogs! To the chase of these Christians! We shall see them run!”

But the *rayas* had nothing left; they could not pay either the *haradasch* or the sequins that Tchengitch required for himself. It is in vain that they are struck, tortured, that their wives and daughters are dishonoured before their eyes. They cry, “Hunger pinches us, seigneur; our misery is extreme. Have mercy! In five or six days we will get the *haradasch* by begging.”

Tchengitch, furious, answers: “The *haradasch*—I will have the *haradasch*. Thou shalt pay it!”

The *rayas* repeat: “Oh! some bread, master, for pity! that at least once we may eat some bread.”

The executioners invented new torments, but they did not kill their victims.

"Take care!" cried the Governor; "you must not lose the *haradasch*. With the *raya*, the *haradasch* disappears."

A Montenegrin prisoner, the elder Durak, begged for pardon for the sufferers. Tchengitch hung him. Then the avenger was not long in coming. It was Durak's son, Nowitza. He was a Mohammedan, but he was baptized that he might join the band, the Montenegrin *tcheta*, which was about to make an incursion into Herzegovina. It was evening. Tchengitch was reposing after his executions in the villages: he was smoking his pipe, whilst the lamb was roasting on the spit for his supper. Near him, on a linden-tree, he had caused the *rayas*, whom he had carried off, to be suspended. To amuse himself he had a large fire of straw lighted under their feet: but their cries exasperated instead of amusing him. He roared furiously, "Make an end of these Christians! Take some well-sharpened *yatagans*, some sharp-pointed stakes, and some boiling oil! Let loose the powers of hell! I am a hero! The songs will tell it, therefore you all must die!"

At this moment the fire of the Montenegrin *tcheta* wounded and killed the Governor and his men. Nowitza threw himself upon the dead Tchengitch to cut off his head, but Hassan plunged his poignard in his heart.

Here, however, are the facts which prove that the popular poetry was an exact picture of the reality. The *kmet* had to pay half or a third of the produce to the *Bey*, but he must give it in money, and not, as formerly, in kind. We can understand the difficulty of converting these agricultural products into cash, in these scattered villages, without roads, without trade, and where each family harvests the little necessary for its own sustenance.

Another cause of misery, quarrels, and extortions! The *kmet* was not allowed to cut the maize, corn, or hay, or gather the plums, unless the *Bey* was on the spot to verify his share. If the *Bey* was travelling, detained by his pleasure, or should he refuse to come till satisfaction was given to all his

claims, the *kmet* saw his harvest spoiled with no possible remedy. This was ruin, starvation: no one could help him. If, after the *Bey's* share was fixed, a hailstorm, flood, or any other accident destroyed the produce, partially or wholly, the *kmet* could deduct nothing from the settled due. He had sometimes to deliver more than he had gathered. The tithe was collected in the same way. The *kmet* was compelled to submit to all the demands of the collector: as the collection of taxes was let to the highest bidders, they had no other means of making a profit than by extorting it from the peasants. The rapacity of the sub-agents had also to be satisfied. The *raya* could not appeal to the courts of law; his witness was not received; and besides, the judges, having bought their office, would have decided in favour of those who bribed them. The *raya*, despised and poor, could not dream of demanding justice. The chief judges, the *cadis*, were Turks appointed by the *Scheik-ul-Islam*, and sent from Constantinople; they did not understand the language of the country, and the assistant judges, the *muselins*, appointed by the Governor (*vizier*), received no salary, and lived only by extortion. Every one trembled before the *muselins*, who had the confidence of the authorities.

The chiefs of the villages alone sometimes dared to raise their voice in complaint: they presented themselves before the Governor-General at the *Konak*, threw themselves at his feet, and sometimes obtained some remission of their taxes; but often they paid dear for their audacity. The *Beys* and the *malmudirs*, agents of the fiscal, against whom the *kmets* had protested, let the *zaptiehs* loose upon them. The *zaptiehs* were the armed police, who were more dreaded than the janissaries of former times, for they were worse paid. They went about the villages, living freely on the inhabitants, whom they fleeced mercilessly. The prisons were cellars or obscure blind alleys, foul and filled with filth; into these the unhappy men were thrown in numbers, without trial, bound hand and foot, whenever an insurrection was feared, and they wished to strike terror

into the Christians. Maize bread and water was their only food when they were not left to die of hunger. What Gladstone related of the prisons of Naples under the Bourbons, and Prince Krapotkine of the Russian prisons in *The Nineteenth Century*, is rose colour compared with what is said of these Turkish prisons.

The Austrian, Captain Gustave Thoemmel, relates in his excellent book, "*Beschreibung des Vilajet Bosniens*," p. 195, some of the means employed by the fiscal agents to secure the back taxes; they hung the peasants to trees above a large fire, or fastened them without clothes to posts in the middle of winter, or even covered them with cold water, which froze upon their stiffened limbs. The *rayas* dared not complain, for fear of being cast into prison, or otherwise ill-treated. The song of Tchengitch was then no fiction.

When the Porto sent irregular troops to Bosnia to suppress the insurrections, the country was desolated as severely by fire and bloodshed as in the first invasions of the barbarians. The Bulgarian atrocities of 1876, which inspired Gladstone's eloquent philippics, were surpassed here in twenty districts. Villages and towns were entirely burned and the inhabitants massacred. The neighbourhood of Biatch, Livno, Glamotch, and Gradiska, were transformed into a desert. Of fifty-two localities of the district of Gradiska, four only remained intact. The towns of Petrovac, Majdan, Krupa, Kljutch, Kulen-Vakouf, and of Glamotch, were burned on several occasions, so that the work of destruction was perfect. The Ottoman bands, fearing a general insurrection of the *rayas*, wished to restrain them by terror. For this reason they systematically killed those whom they suspected to be hostile, and their heads, fixed upon stakes, were exposed wherever they would be the most in sight. The peasants fled in crowds to the woods, to the mountains, to Austria. When they passed the frontier, or crossed the Save, the Mussulman gendarmes fired at them. The number of refugees in Austria is said to have risen to more than a hundred

thousand, and the help given to them amounted to 2,122,000 florins in one year only, 1876.

The abduction of young women, and especially the rape of the bride on the wedding day, was a favourite amusement of the young *Bey*s. We may read again the words of M. Saint-Marc Girardin, confirming the reports of the English Consuls, "Reports of Consuls on the Christians in Turkey."\* The Turks hold on this point the theory of exogamous marriage. Besides, is it not, throughout the whole Ottoman Empire, the usual method of recruiting the female inhabitants of the harems? Their ideas on this subject are completely different from ours. M. Kanitz, author of some good volumes on Servia and Bulgaria, applied to a Pacha, who was sent to Widdin by the Porte, to end the violence of which the Christians complained, and questioned him on the subject of the abduction of young girls. The Pacha answered, smiling, "I do not see what these *rayas* have to complain about. Are not their daughters much happier in our harems than in their huts, where they die of hunger and work like horses?"

The Turk is not badly disposed, and we cannot be too severe, when we remember how Christians have massacred other Christians—for instance, the cruelty with which the Spaniards massacred thousands of Protestants in the Low Countries. But the iniquities and atrocities which the *rayas* of Bosnia have suffered so long must necessarily be renewed in every province of Turkey, where the Christians increase in numbers and wealth, whilst the Mussulmans grow fewer and poorer. Their decay sours and irritates them; they lay the blame on those who are at their mercy, as is only too natural. How shall they retain the power which is slipping away from them? They apply the principle of the massacres of September, 1793. They feel themselves beset; they believe themselves to be in a state of lawful defence, and none of the motives of humanity, which ought to have stopped the Christian executioners in the sixteenth century, exist for them. The *rayas*, as the word

\* *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Feb. 5, April 1, 1861.

expresses, are only cattle in their eyes. Put Europeans in the place of Turks—would they act in a more considerate manner? Alas! too often it is circumstances that make men. It is perfectly useless to preach respect for justice to all-powerful masters, who tremble to see millions of unfortunates, whose forces increase every day, rise in rebellion against them. The thing to be done is to put an end to this disastrous situation, which would change angels into devils.

Here is a summary sketch of the taxes existing in Bosnia before the Austrian occupation. This is somewhat interesting, because Austria has had to retain a great part of them, and also because the same fiscal *régime* is still enforced in the provinces of the Ottoman Empire. 1. Tithe—*askar*—levied on all the produce of the soil, harvest, fruit, wood, fish, minerals, produces from 5 to 8 millions of francs. 2. The *verghe*, tax of 4 per 1,000 on the value of landed property, houses and lands, value fixed in the registers of the *tapous*; tax of 3 per cent. on the net revenue manufacturing or commercial; tax of 4 per cent. on the rent of let houses: produce of these three taxes, about £80,000. 3. The *askera-bedelia* tax of 28 piastres—1 piastre, 2d. to 2½d. per head of each adult Christian, for exemption from military service. This tax replaced the ancient capitation, the *haradasch*, but it was twice as heavy; in 1876 it brought in £4,000. 4. A tax upon cattle, 2 piastres per sheep and goat, 4 piastres for each head of horned cattle of more than a year old, brought in £46,720 in 1876. 5. Tax of 2½ per cent. upon the sale of horses and horned animals. 6. Taxes on saw-mills, stamps, hives, dyes, leeches, cabarets, &c., produced £44,000. 7. Varied and complicated taxes upon tobacco, coffee, salt, produced from £80,000 to £120,000.

The total of these fiscal receipts amounts to about £600,000, which, from a population of 1,336,097 inhabitants, makes about 9s. per head. That does not seem much. A Frenchman pays eight or nine times more than a Bosnian: however, up to the present time the first bears

his burden lightly, whilst the second succumbs and dies of misery. Mark the difference: in France, a rich country, everything is sold dear; in Bosnia, a very poor country, there is scarcely anything that will make money. Here, the numerous taxes were very badly fixed, and besides, were collected in the most tricky and iniquitous manner—the best possible method to discourage trade. Thus the tobacco tax has diminished the cultivation of the plant. It was the same everywhere: when it was introduced into the district of Sinope, in 1876, the production fell suddenly from 4,500,000 to 40,000 kilogrammes. The direct taxes were received by re-partition; that is, each village had to pay a fixed sum, which was then divided amongst the inhabitants by the local authorities. New source of iniquity! for the rich and powerful threw the burden upon the poor. To this must be further added the rapacity of the subaltern receivers, who forced the tax-payers to give them a tribute.

The Austrian Government has not yet been able to reform this detestable fiscal system. It is waiting to do so until the official statement of the extent and value of every property, the cadaster, is ready; but it has abolished the tax imposed upon Christians for exemption from military service, because it is made compulsory for all. The order and equity which now preside over the collecting have already brought great relief. The tithe has the advantage of being levied in proportion to the harvest, but it has the capital fault of preventing improvements, because the cultivator, who bears all the expense, touches only a part of the returns. Besides, tithe, payable in money, is calculated according to the price of the crops in the district at the time that the harvest is going to be cut—that is, when everything is dearer than when the peasant must sell it, after the harvest is gathered. It would be better to introduce a land tax, fixed definitely according to the fertility of the soil.

Austria will also be obliged to consider the agrarian question; but here the difficulties are great. The first

thing is to determine exactly the obligations of each tenant to his landlord: the Administration wishes them to be stated in a written document, drawn up by the local authority in the presence of the *aga* and *kmet*: but the *aga* shuns this, because doubtless he counts on resuming his arbitrary powers when the Austrians are expelled; and the *kmet* will not bind himself, because he always hopes for further reductions. However, thousands of settlements of this kind are already recorded.

The fixture of the *tretina* and the tithe is now made at a time settled by the local authority. *Kmet* and *aga* are called together, and if they do not agree, assistant judges, the *medschliss*, decide. It is the Administration, and not the Judge, which till the present time settles all agrarian differences.

According to what we learn from Baron Kállay, in his report to the delegations, the taxes have been well returned (November, 1883). Even the arrears are paid, and there was no case in which a distraint had been necessary. Baron Kállay congratulated himself that the number of agrarian disputes was so small. Thus, in September, 1883, there were only 451 in the whole country, of which 280 were decided by the Administration in the course of the same month. The number of these disputes decreases rapidly. In 1881 there were 6,255; in 1882, 4,070; and in 1883, only 3,924. In Herzegovina, taken separately, the progress is still more marked. The number fell from 1,823 in 1882, to 723 in 1883. It is very little, when we remember that in consequence of the new agrarian laws in Ireland the special courts had to settle nearly a hundred thousand disputes between landlords and tenants: only we must not forget that the poor *kmet*, whose resistance to his master's claims would draw upon him a double share of oppression and ill-treatment, is very badly prepared to make the most of his rights. Baron Kállay is therefore justified in saying that he recommends them to the care of his officials.

The decision of any agrarian question is a most delicate



point, but it is more so in Bosnia, on account of the special circumstances of the Austrian Government. On the one hand, Austria is obliged to improve the condition of the *rayas*, because it is the excess of their distress which provoked the occupation, and justified it in the eyes of the signers of the Treaty of Berlin, and of all Europe. But, on the other hand, the Austro-Hungarian Government, in taking possession of this province, promised the Porte to respect the rights of property of the Mussulmans; and besides, they constitute a proud, warlike population, who have opposed the Austrian troops with the strength of despair, and who, driven to extremities, would still be able to attempt an insurrection, or at least an armed resistance. There are, then, two principles to consider. It is impossible to reduce them summarily to congruity, as Gladstone has done with the Irish land laws.

The Government is strongly advised to apply here the law which succeeded in Hungary, after 1848: a part of the soil should become the absolute property of the *kmet*, another that of the *aga*, who should receive indemnification in money, partly paid by the *kmet*, and partly by the Treasury. But it seems impossible to carry out this plan. The *kmet* has no money, neither has the Treasury. The *aga* would believe that he was robbed; and he would be so, really, for he would not be able to make the most of the share of the soil which remained to him. Foreign colonists must be called, say others: that is all very well, but it would not improve the condition of the *rayas*.

In 1881 the Government enacted a law for the district of Gacsco, which ensured notable advantages to the *kmets*, and it intended successively to pass similar ones for the other circumscription; but the insurrection of 1882 prevented this. However, the laws of Gacsco remained in force. According to them the *kmet* was bound to deliver to the *aga* only a quarter of the cereals of all kinds, and from this he might deduct the seed, a third of the hay of the valleys, and a quarter of the hay of the mountains. I have before me now a warm protest, drawn up by the

representatives of the *agas* in the districts of Ljubinje, Bilek, Trebinje, Stolatch, and Gacsko, in which they complain that the authorities have reduced the rent to be paid by the *kmets* from the half to the third, or from the third to the quarter. But their demands appeared in all ways ill-grounded. The organic Turkish law of 14 *Sefer*, 1276 (1856), which they appeal to, imposes only the payment of a third, *tretina*, on the *kmet* when the house and cattle belong to him, and this is almost always the case: besides, it is certain that the *Beys* and *agas*, by a continuation of extortions, have raised their share from the tenth, which was first fixed by the conquerors themselves, to the third and half. The Austrian Government is quite right to decide all doubtful cases in favour of the tenant; everything commands it: first, justice and humanity; then, the mission of reparation entrusted to her by Europe; lastly, and above all, economical interest. The *kmet* is the producer of riches. It is he who must be stimulated to activity by assuring him of the full enjoyment of all the surplus that he can gather in: the *aga* is the lazy drone, whose exactions are the chief hindrance to all improvement. It is impossible to compare him in any way with a European landlord, who often increases the fertility of the soil and gives an example of agricultural improvements. The *agas* never have done anything for agriculture, and they never will.

Although I am not ignorant how difficult it is for a stranger to point out reforms suited to such a complex question, I will give some that have been suggested to me by an attentive study of agrarian conditions in the different countries of the world. To begin with: avoid sudden and violent changes, and do not listen to the advice of impatience. Care must be taken that the *kmets* are not made merely tenants, who can be evicted or have the rent increased at the owner's will, as the English have unfortunately done in some provinces of India; on the contrary, the right of hereditary occupation should be definitely respected, the *jus in re*, which is recognized by ancient

custom, and which the *agas* themselves do not dispute. When the cadaster is finished, and the prestations due from each *tchiflik*, or farm, shall have been peremptorily settled, the tithe should be changed into a land-tax, and the *tretina* into a fixed and unvarying rent, in order that the benefit of improvements may fall to the cultivators who carry them out, and so encourage them to make them. In bad years it might be necessary, at first, to take a little off the amount paid by the *kmets*; but the price of produce will increase rapidly, through the influence of roads and the more rapid circulation of money; the charge on the tenants would then grow continually lighter. By degrees, with economy, they would be able to redeem the perpetual rent which burdens the land they occupy, and thus acquire full and free ownership. In the meantime they would enjoy those privileges so eagerly begged for by the Irish tenantry, fixity of tenure and fixity of rent—that is, the right of perpetual occupation at a fixed rent. They would be in the position of the hereditary farmers, to whom the *Beklemregt* in Groningen, and the *Aforamento* in the north of Portugal, ensure the means of a comfortable life, obtained by most careful cultivation.

The State may also help the *kmets* in another way. According to Mussulman law, all the forests, and the pastures enclosed therein, belong to the sovereign. It is also affirmed that there are many estates of which the *Beys* have unfairly possessed themselves. The State ought vigorously to assert its rights; first, to ensure the preservation of the woods; in the second place, that it may be able to make grants of land to foreign colonists and to native labouring families. Baron Kállay, during his travels in Bosnia, in the summer of 1883, was able to verify the clearing, and consequent increase in value, of much waste land belonging to the State, and the extraordinary growth of the tax paid under this head. Excellent symptom! for it proves that the peasants will extend their cultivation now that their security is ensured. In this way, therefore, both population and wealth will increase rapidly.

The Government can also exert a useful influence by means of the *vakoufs*. It should guard carefully against selling them ; but it is of immediate importance to put them under rigorous control, as the Porte tried to do on several occasions. The undue deductions of the administrators ought to be at once severely reprimanded ; then the revenues destined for useful works, schools, baths, fountains, should be carefully applied to their intended end ; those which go to the now unused mosques should be henceforth employed to extend general education. Fixity of tenure and rent should also be granted at once to the *kmets* who occupy the lands of the *vakoufs*, and they should also have suitable farm buildings and good agricultural implements, so that these farms may be models to those around. The Government has sent for improved ploughs, harrows, thrashing and winnowing machines, and has put them at the disposal of certain farms. On several sides agricultural societies have been formed, to patronize the new methods. Colonists from the Tyrol and Wurtemberg have applied here their perfected systems of cultivation, which already find imitators, especially in the districts of Derwent, Kostanjnica, Travnik, and Livno. In the valley of the Verbas, in the environs of Banjaluka, we may even see irrigated meadows.

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## CHAPTER IV.

### BOSNIA—ITS SOURCES OF WEALTH, ITS INHABITANTS, AND RECENT PROGRESS.

BOSNIA is the most beautiful province of the Balkan Peninsula. It recalls Styria, the country of Alps and forests. Look at the map ; everywhere are mountain ranges and valleys. Parallel with the Dinaric Alps, which here separate the basin of the Danube from that of the Mediterranean, they run with regularity from north to south, forming the source of four rivers which fall into the Save, and which run from west to east : the Unna, Verbas, Bosna, and Drina : but these chains ramify into many lateral branches, and beyond Sarajewo they intermingle in inextricable masses, which are crowned by the steep summits of the Dormitor, 8,200 feet high, and the Kom, 8,500. The only level ground is in the Posavina, along the Save, on the Servian side : everywhere else is a succession of valleys with flowing rivers or streams, and crowned by wooded heights. The country is, therefore, much less suited than Slavonia and Hungary to the cultivation of cereals ; but it would be possible to follow the rural economy of Switzerland and the Tyrol, by keeping cattle, which are worth more than corn in these times of American competition.

Of the 5,410,200 hectares (1 hect.=2·47 acres) of Bosnia-Herzegovina, 871,700 are barren rocks like the *Karst* ; 1,811,300 are cultivated land, and 2,727,200 are forest. Many of these forests are absolutely untrodden

for want of roads to get there : the climbing plants, which interlace themselves with the oaks and beeches, form impenetrable thickets, through which advance must be made, as in Brazil, axe in hand. This is not so near the inhabited parts, because the people cut for their own use the wood which is within their reach ; and the Turks, to guard against surprise attacks, have systematically destroyed and burned all the forests in the neighbourhood of large or small towns. But what still remains constitutes enormous wealth, only it cannot be realized. Behind Sarajewo, from Ibar to Mitrovitza, in the high mountains, stretch magnificent forests of resinous trees. For ages Venice has had the wood for the construction of her fleet from thence. The foresters have calculated that on the 1,667,500 hectares of leafy trees, and the 1,059,700 hectares of resinous, there would be about 138,971,000 cubic mètres, of which 24,946,000 would be wood for building, and 114,025,000 wood for burning. It would be foolish to sell now, for the prices are absurdly low—from two to five francs the cubic mètre of fir-wood, and three to seven francs for oak, according to the situation. In the parts bordering on the Save, staves are exported at the rate of 700,000 to 900,000 a year. The revenue drawn by the Treasury from these immense woods, greater in extent than the whole of Belgium, is insignificant—£4,640 in 1880, £8,000 in 1884. It is a reserve that must be carefully kept for the future.

Many animals are found in the shelter of these woods—stags, roes, lynx, and even wolves and bears. It is said that there are more than 8,000 springs which give rise, in the thousand valleys of the country, to a number of streams where trout and crayfish abound. Where the trees cease the pasturage begins, so that Bosnia is entirely green except the ridges of the high mountains.

Herzegovina presents an entirely different aspect. The surface of the ground is covered with large blocks of white limestone, which seems to be thrown down by chance, like the ruins of Cyclopean monuments. Water is almost

everywhere very scarce; there are no springs, and the rivers issue ready made from grottos, giving rise in winter to lakes in the closed-up valleys; then they disappear again under the ground. The Germans have well named them *hohlen-flüsse* (cavern rivers): such are the Zasenitcha, Buna, Kerka, Cettigna, and the Ombla; it is most extraordinary.

In the depressions is found the soil which produces food for the inhabitants. The houses, which in Bosnia are of wood, are here of large stones of the rudest aspect, and there are scarcely any trees. The climate is already that of Dalmatia: as it belongs to the Mediterranean basin, the country suffers in summer from the sirocco and long droughts. The vine and tobacco plant are very fruitful, the olive is seen, and, towards the mouth of the Narenta, even the orange tree. Rice is grown in the marshy valley of the Trebisatch, near Ljubuska. In Bosnia, on the contrary, a high region sloping towards the north, the climate is severe. At Sarajewo the frost is strong and long, and the snow stays for six weeks or two months.

The agriculture of Bosnia is the most primitive in Europe. It is exceptional to find the triennial succession of crops known to the Germans in the time of Charlemagne, and even, it is said, from the time of Tacitus. Generally the waste land is turned, or rather torn, by a rude plough. Maize seed is thrown upon the fresh furrows, and then lightly buried by a hurdle of branches which serves for a harrow. The fields are dug up once or twice between the plants: the next year a second or third crop of maize is set, or sometimes wheat or oats, until the soil is quite exhausted. It is then left to itself; fern and weeds cover it, or it feeds the cattle, until the plough returns, after a rest of from five to ten years. There is no manure, for the domestic animals have often no shelter; they wander about the waste lands or the fallows. Also the product is relatively small: 100 millions of kilogrammes of maize (1 kilog.=2·20 pounds), 49 millions of kilogrammes of wheat, 38 millions of kilogrammes of barley, 40 millions of

kilogrammes of oats, 10 millions of kilogrammes of beans. The bean is an important article of food, for it is eaten in Lent and on fast days; there are 180 of these for the Orthodox, and 105 for the Catholics. Rye, millet, spelt, buckwheat, kidney-beans, Indian millet, potatoes, turnips, and field cabbages, are also grown. The total produce of all kinds of grain amounts to 500 millions of kilogrammes.

Some facts suffice to prove how deplorably behindhand is the state of agriculture. This country, which is in all respects so favourable for the growth of oats, does not produce enough for the cavalry; they are imported from Hungary, and fetch at Sarajewo the very high price of 16s. to 17s. for 100 kilogrammes. The wheat is dear and of poor quality. The Hungarian mills furnish the flour which is used in the capital: it is brought more cheaply by the railway than the flour of the country can come, which has to be brought on horseback, as there are no roads. A Hungarian firm wished to set up a large steam mill at Sarajewo, but it was impossible to provide enough material for its use. Dried plums are one of the chief and most easily exported products: sixty thousand tons are sold abroad in years when they are abundant, and they are sent as far as America. A pleasant kind of spirit is made from them, called *rakia*; it is from the produce of the plum-trees that the *kmet* gains ready money. The onion and garlic are also cultivated. Garlic is considered a safeguard against illnesses, bad spells, and even against vampires. A little wine is made near Banyaluka and in the valley of the Narenta, but hardly any one drinks it. The Christians abstain from lack of money, and the Mussulmans in obedience to the Koran. Drunkenness is very rare. The Bosnians especially are water-drinkers. Herzegovina produces excellent tobacco, which has been made a monopoly since the occupation, but this has stimulated the culture, because the Treasury gives a good price. It is calculated that a hectare yields in Herzegovina about 3,000 kilogrammes of tobacco, of the value of more than £160 sterling; whilst in Bosnia it yields only 636 kilogrammes,



worth from £12 to £16 sterling. The Treasury gives licenses to those who grow it for their personal use. In 1880 there were 9,586 issued.

The principal wealth of the country is its cattle, but they are wretched animals; the cows are very small, and give scarcely any milk. Cheese of an inferior kind is made from goat's milk, and a very little butter. The horses are small and badly shaped; they are only employed as beasts of burden, for they are too weak to draw the plough, and carts are not used; but they can climb up and down the mountain paths like goats: they are very badly fed; most frequently they have to find their own food in the pastures, the forests, or on the roadside. Some of the *Beys* have still sometimes horses with beautiful paces, which are descended from the Arabian ones brought into the country at the Ottoman Conquest: they carry proudly a pretty head on a neck held up and bent again like a swan's, but they are small in size. There is a large number of horses, because their backs are the only means of transport; we may see them arrive in long files, under the guidance of a *kiridchi*, fastened by the tails one to another; they are bringing into the town eatables, firewood, and wood and stone for building.

Each farm possesses at least two horses. The Government is beginning to endeavour to improve the breed of horses. In 1884 it sent six stallions of the Lipitça race to Mostar: all the people went out to receive them with flags and music, and the Municipality provided stables. Nevesinje and Konjiça offered to do the same, and this year—1885—studs have been established in different parts of the country to improve the size of the native race. Bosnia might easily provide horses for Italy and the whole littoral of the Adriatic. The pigs live, almost like wild ones, amidst the oak trees: with their long legs and boarlike look, they run about like greyhounds. If the English breed was introduced and fattened with maize, it would compete with the pig of Chicago. Sheep are numerous—mutton is the Mussulman's favourite meat—but the wool is very coarse;

it is used for the stuffs and carpets which the women weave in their own homes. Every one has goats; they are the scourge of the forests, because the shepherds leave the plains for the whole summer, and take their flocks to the high pastures and mountain woods. In each house are found fowls and eggs, which, with garlic and a sour sauce, is the dish preferred by the Bosnians. They often have bees; 118,148 hives have been counted. Honey takes the place of sugar, and the wax is made into candles, which play such an important part in the ceremonial of the Orthodox worship.

The official statement of 1879 gives the following numbers of the domestic animals in Bosnia-Herzegovina:—Horses, 158,034; mules, 3,134; cattle, 762,077; sheep, 839,988; pigs, 430,354. If we count ten sheep and four pigs for one head of large cattle, we obtain a total of 1,114,796, which, for a population of 1,336,097 persons, give 85 head of large cattle to 100 persons. This is a high proportion. In France it is only 49, in Great Britain 45, in Belgium 36, in Hungary 68, and in Russia 64. In all thinly-populated countries, like Australia and the United States, and as formerly in Germany, the unoccupied ground supports many domestic animals, and consequently the people can easily procure meat.

Although Bosnia exports beasts for slaughter to Dalmatia, for the towns of the littoral, the Bosnian eats much more meat than the labourer with us. Cæsar said of the Germans, "*Carne et lacte vivunt.*" If the number of beasts is calculated in proportion to the extent of the country, we obtain, on the other hand, a somewhat unfavourable result—22 head of cattle to 100 hectares in Bosnia, 40 in France, 51 in England, 61 in Belgium. The total produce of the soil is very small in Bosnia-Herzegovina, for it only supports 26 persons to 100 hectares; whilst Belgium has 187, England 111, and France 70. We must go to Russia to find only 15 persons to the same extent of ground, and the northern part of the Russian Empire has a detestable climate and soil.

The wages of the day-labourer are from 7d. to 1s. 6d. in the country, according to the season and situation; and from 11d. to 1s. 7d. in the towns.

The Government ought to aim specially at the improvement of agriculture. The schoolmasters, to whom ideas of rural economy should be given, would be able to render great service here: but the most immediate effect would be produced by the establishment on the State lands of each district of labourers from the Austrian provinces where agriculture is thoroughly understood. Nothing will open the eyes of the peasantry like example. Ah! if the poor Italian *contadini*, who are dying of hunger and *pellagra* on the other side of the Adriatic, could be brought here, how well their work would be rewarded! How easily they would create a little *podere*, which would give them comfort and security! In any case, make free and independent proprietors, and Bosnia will become, like Styria, Switzerland, or the Tyrol, one of the most delightful regions of our Continent.

We find a military casino in all the garrison towns of Austro-Hungary. It is an excellent institution, something like the London clubs, or the English regimental mess building. It provides the officers with a reading-room, a good and cheap restaurant, a café, a concert-room, and a general meeting-place. Good fellowship is developed, and good conduct is kept up by reciprocal surveillance. The casino of Sarajewo occupies a large new building, of a simple but noble style. In front, trees are growing in a small square, amidst the tombstones of a Turkish cemetery, which has been preserved; on the other side, there is a large garden with plantations stretching to the little river that flows through the town, the Miljaschka: it is a delightful place to come and rest in the cool shade.

M. Scheimpflug took me to dine at the casino. I met many young civil officials, amongst others the Chief of the Police, M. Kutchera, who must sign my passport. The largest number are Slavs; there are also Croats, Slovenes, Czechs, and Poles. It is a great advantage to

Austria to find thus at hand a whole nursery of employés of the same race, and more or less of the same tongue, as that of the country to be united. A good dinner, with excellent Viennese beer, that is already brewed here. How the empire of Gambrinus, the god of beer, has extended in the last thirty years ! Formerly no one drank beer in any country south of the Seine, nor even in Paris ; to-day the *bock* reigns supreme in all French towns, in Spain, in Italy, and here it is about to conquer the Balkan Peninsula. Must we consider this as progress ? I am very doubtful. Beer is a heavy drink, inferior to wine ; it is drunk lengthily, slowly, and serves as a pretext for prolonged conversation, for numerous cigars, and idle evenings away from home.

In the afternoon we had a fine walk to the old citadel, which, perched on a high rock, overlooks the city on the south. We went first to pay our respects to the *Ulemas* who teach M. Scheimpflug Arabic. We met there one of the richest *Beys* in the country, M. Capitanovitch : he wore European clothes which suited him very badly. What a contrast to the *Ulemas*, who have retained the Turkish costume, and the calm and noble mien of Eastern princes ! Those Mussulmans who try to become Europeans are lost ; they never learn anything from the West but its vices. Mahmoud inaugurated the era of reforms, Europe applauded, but results prove that he only hastened decrepitude.

Our road lay on the bank of the Miljaschka, where we found a succession of Turkish cafés, with balconies, which hung, amidst the willows, above the clear waters of the river rippling against the pebbles. Many Mussulmans were there smoking the *chibouk*, and enjoying the view of the country and the coolness brought by the stream.

In the ancient citadel, which dates from the time of the conquest, large modern barracks have been built and colour-washed yellow, which is offensive to the sight : but when we turn to look at Sarajewo we understand all the hyperbole of admiring qualifications that the Bosnians lavish on their capital. The Miljaschka, which rises in

the neighbouring mountains of the wild Romania-Planina, divides the town into two parts, which are reunited by eight bridges ; two of these are of stone—a noticeable detail in a country where permanent works are so rare. High poplars and curious Turkish houses of wood border the little river. Above the black roofs rise the domes and minarets of the numerous mosques, which are scattered as far as the neighbouring hills, on slopes covered with the habitations of *Beys* and *agas* ; painted in bright colours, they stand out from the thick verdure of the gardens which surround them. Towards the north the valley, still embosomed in green hills, widens in the direction in which the Miljaschka joins the Bosna ; this river starts ready made from a cavern about a league from here. The whole view is very beautiful.

We returned to Sarajewo by the road, which leads to Vichegrad and Novi-Bazar. A stone bridge of imposing appearance, said to be Roman, crosses the Miljaschka, which rolls rapidly between red rocks. This sinister colour reminded me of all the blood shed here since the fall of the Roman Empire, which would be enough to redden the whole country. A large flock of sheep and goats were returning to the town, raising clouds of golden dust in the light of the setting sun ; they are more used for milking than the cow.

I finished the evening in the military casino. The officers met at a large banquet to the music of the regimental band : numerous toasts were given, with a flourish of trumpets. The Austrian army is an agent of civilization in Bosnia, as the Roman Legions of Veterans were formerly. In the reading-room I noticed two papers published at Sarajewo, one, an official paper, *Bonsanska Hercegowaske-Novine* ; the other, called *Sarajewski List*. This is a complete revolution, under Turkish rule paper and printing were things almost unknown, and now there is a journal which carries the knowledge of home and foreign occurrences everywhere, and which attaches Bosnia to other Slav countries. Publicity creates a public opinion, even

under the oversight of the military authority. No change could be greater, especially for the future.

The following morning I visited the offices of the cadaster, which is superintended by Major Knobloch. I examined the maps, where the form and extent of each parcel of land was clearly indicated, with the distinctions of arable, pasture, or forest marked out by different colours, they are most carefully executed. Nothing is more extraordinary than the maps of the Karst in Herzegovina, in the midst of the barren stretch, microscopic oases of about one or two roods are scattered irregularly, and of the oddest outlines. These are depressions of the soil where cultivation is carried on in this disinherited land.

The cadaster, with its maps and the table of proprietors and of agrarian relationships, will be finished in seven years, from 1880 to 1886, at the small cost of less than 2,854,063 gulden (£280,000 sterling). This is marvellously cheap, and is due to the activity of the staff and engineering officers. In France and Belgium, where a cadastral revision is demanded for the better redistribution of the land-tax, it is said to be a work that would require twenty years to carry out. The land surveying is done here under the direction of the military geographical institute, and upon the basis of the complete trigonometrical survey of the country. The officers and engineers have executed the plan of every parcel of property in each commune, and the estimate of the cadastral value has been made by special taxers, under the control of a central commission.

Whilst Bosnia belonged to Turkey it remained *terra incognita*, more completely than the heights of the Himalaya, or even of the Pamir! Now, it is known in all its details, orographical, geological, constitution and division of property, agrarian laws, population, races, faiths, occupations. With the aid of an official publication, entitled, *Ortschafts und Bevölkerungs-Statistik von Bosnien und der Herzegowina*, you can know this country better than your own!

Since I have been engaged in correcting the proofs of

this book I have received from Vienna statistics respecting Bosnia for this year (1886). The volume sent me contains most interesting tables and, more particularly, maps from which one may see at a glance what is the density of population in the various districts, and their division as regards religion; also the relative numbers of landowners (*agas*), tenants (*kmets*), or peasants cultivating their own land. What a pity there are not similar maps of Ireland! In an area of 5,110,008 hectares (about 12,000,000 acres) there are 2,844,672 registered plots of ground, 47 towns, great and small, 31 boroughs, and 5,261 villages, with a total population of 1,336,097 inhabitants, 8,162 of whom are *Bey*s and *agas*, large and small landowners, 117,466 cultivating their own land and proprietors, and 197,833 *kmets*, or tenants, 227 ecclesiastics of various persuasions, 1,498 teachers and professors, 1,586 persons in public employments, 1,239 of whom are in the service of the State; only 88 doctors, 7,610 owners of houses, or holders of mortgages, 15,454 manufacturers, merchants, and tradesmen, 34,238 workmen and domestic servants. Of the whole population, 492,710 are Mussulmans, 571,250 Christians of the Oriental Church, 265,788 Catholics, 5,805 Jews, and 538 others. So 38·88 per cent. are Mohammedans, 42·75 Orthodox Greek Church, and 19·89 Catholics, 0·48 Jews and Dissenters; 2·06 per cent. *agas* and *Bey*s, 29·75 cultivating peasant landholders, 50·09 *kmets*, tenants; while 18·10 of the adult population are occupied in the other professions. In the district of Sarajewo there are the greatest number of Mussulmans and of landowners, and in the Herzegovina the greatest number of Catholics and the fewest peasant proprietors. The occupation army numbers from 25,000 to 30,000 men.

We had a charming drive to the baths of Ilitcha, about a league away from the town. In passing, we went into the military school of the Bosnian cadets. The commander of the establishment showed it to us, not without a dash of pride. It was formerly Turkish barracks, not badly built. It contains well-ventilated class-rooms, where the young people receive a tolerably complete education. Just at that

moment they were being drilled in a large parade field. They wore a handsome brown uniform, in the Austrian style. They belong to the different religions of the country, and it is an excellent method of overcoming the religious animosities, which are so sharp here.

I had previously keenly regretted the introduction of conscription into these provinces, because it seemed to me likely to arouse deep resentment amongst the populations who had lately risen against it. What I learned at Sarajewo led me to think that I was mistaken. The resistance sprang almost solely from the Mussulmans; for the *rayas*, on the other hand, it is an advance to make them serve by the side of their lords and masters. In many places the peasants march now to the conscription, headed by flags and music.

The contingent is increased by a large number of volunteers, which proves that the service is not unpopular. Thus in 1883 the recruitment called 1,200 men for Bosnia and Herzegovina, and 1,319 were enrolled, of whom 608 were Greek Church, 401 Catholics, and 308 Mussulmans. The different religions alike comply with the requirement of obligatory service. There were only 45 refractory conscripts—a smaller number than is found in many of the old provinces of the empire. At Vichegrad the contingent called six men; 15 volunteers presented themselves. Of the 2,500 Herzegovinians who sought refuge in Montenegro during the last troubles, 2,000 have returned and recommenced their work. The refractory conscripts are almost all from the shepherds who feed their flocks upon the alps of the most inaccessible mountains.

There still exists, towards the Southern frontiers, some small bands of brigands, but they generally limit themselves to the stealing of cattle. To obtain complete security, flying corps have been formed: they are armed with the excellent Kropaczek gun. These picked soldiers, to the number of 300, are divided into small detachments, which arrive unexpectedly wherever the brigands show themselves. There will soon be none left, except in the *Sangiac* of Novi-



Bazar, occupied by Austria, but where the authority remains in the hands of the Turks. From a military point of view, Bosnia offers more advantages to Austria than Tunis to France, or Cyprus to England, for it can raise regiments from this province which will not be inferior to the famous Croats with their red cloaks. Is it not melancholy that this thought of the equilibrium of armed forces comes always to the mind that desires to be engaged only with the study of economic progress ?

Before arriving at Ilitcha we went through an old Jewish cemetery, where the great tombstones are laid on the bare side of a stony hill, amidst thistles, with their great purple flowers and the yellow spurge: it had a mournful look: these slabs, without inscription, and of very white stone, stand out against a stormy sky of blue slate colour, as in Ruysdael's famous picture at Dresden, "The Jewish Cemetery."

At Ilitcha there are warm sulphurous springs, with a clean but very simple hotel. Some Mussulmans arrived in a hired carriage: they came to have their *kaif*, whilst taking coffee in a small, recently planted garden which surrounds the baths. A Mussulman lady descended from a *coupée*, accompanied by a servant and her two children. She was completely enveloped in a *feredje* of violet satin. The *yashmak* which veiled her face was not transparent, like those of Constantinople: it entirely hid her features: she had the absurd walk of a duck regaining its pond, which comes from the custom of sitting cross-legged, after the fashion of tailors. It was impossible to guess whether this sack contained a young and pretty woman or an old grandmother. I am told that the Mussulmans here are extremely strict in their morals. Adventures of gallantry are extremely rare, and, notwithstanding the seductions of the Austrian uniform, it is never the abhorred strangers who are their heroes.

For a thorough understanding of the economical conditions of a country, we must enter the peasants' dwellings and talk with them. We went up to a *kmet* who was

working with four oxen ; the two first were led by his wife : his dress was a pair of large Turkish trousers of white wool, a shirt of hemp, an immense belt of brown leather, and a small felt cap surrounded with white rags rolled in the shape of a turban. The woman wore only her tunic, with a black woollen apron, and a red handkerchief on her hair. He told us that only two of the oxen were his own ; the others belonged to his brother. The peasants often associate themselves to do agricultural work together ; I desired to visit his cottage ; he hesitated at first ; he was afraid ; he dreaded lest I was an agent of the Treasury. The Treasury and the landlord are the two ogres whose rapacity makes him tremble. When M. Scheimpflug told him that I was a stranger who wished to see everything, his intelligent face brightened with an amiable smile : he had a very finely cut nose and beautiful light hair.

His habitation was a clay hut roofed with short oak planks. It was lighted by two dormer-windows, with shutters, but without glass, and was divided into two small rooms ; the first was the cooking place, the second the sleeping place for the family. The first room was completely blackened by the smoke, which, for want of a chimney, invaded everywhere, until it escaped by the interstices in the roof. The woodwork was visible, for there was no ceiling. Upon the hook above the fire was hung an earthen pot, in which was cooking the boiled maize, which is the principal food of the peasant. The furniture consisted only of three wooden stools, two copper jars, and some agricultural implements ; no table, neither dishes nor plates : one might fancy one's self in a cavern of prehistoric times.

In the sleeping room was neither chair nor bed ; two chests were the only furniture. The *kmèt* and his wife slept on the beaten ground, covered with an old carpet. In the corner a little Bosnian stove threw its smoke across the clay division into the adjoining hearth. Here, the walls were whitened, some planks formed a ceiling, and

above, in the granary, a few provisions were stored. The *kmet* opened one of his chests and showed us with pride his gala dress and that of his wife: he had lately bought for her a blue velvet waistcoat embroidered with gold, which cost £7 sterling, and for himself a cloak trimmed with fur. He said that, since the Occupation, although he pays the *tretina*, he is able to save, because prices have greatly risen, and he dares to wear his best clothes on Sunday because he no longer fears the extortion of the Treasury or the *Bey*s. The other chest was quite full of beautiful tunics and shirts embroidered in coloured wool, made by his wife, who brought them as dowry. Here we see nations in their childhood; they dream of luxury before caring for comfort: no table, no bed, no bread, but velvet, embroidery, and gold braid. This absence of furniture and utensils explains the ease with which the Bosnians change their residences, emigrate, and return. One ass can carry all they have.

We see clearly here how the condition of the unfortunate *rayas*, so long pillaged and oppressed, may be improved. Fix the rent and taxes at a definite price, the *kmet*, assured of profiting by the surplus, will improve his methods of farming, and the progress of agriculture will enrich and emancipate him. Already there is a great benefit from the Occupation, because the *agas* can only claim their customary rent.

For many of the following particulars I am indebted to M. Queillé, Inspector of Finances in France; to M. Moreau, who was for a length of time Consul at Epirus; and to the valuable book of M. Adolphe Strauss.

Mussulmans, notwithstanding the different races to which they belong, everywhere resemble one another—Turks, Albanians, Slavs, Caucasians, Arabs, Kabyles, Hindoos, Malays. The Koran impregnates them through and through, and casts them in the same mould: they are kind and, at the same time, ferocious. They love children, dogs, and horses, and never ill-treat them, and they hesitate to kill a fly; but, when excited by passion, they will

pitilessly butcher even women and children, not being held back either by respect for life or by the sentiments of humanity that Christianity and modern philosophy have given us.

They are thoroughly honest until they come under Western influences. M. Cherbuliez told me lately that at Smyrna a poor Mussulman commissionaire was trusted with large sums of money, and nothing was ever missing. A Christian of the same rank would have been much less safe. The Mohammedan of the old rule is religious, and has few wants; his faith forbids him to seize another man's wealth, and he has little temptation to do so, because he has hardly any wants: take his religion away, and create in him the tastes of the luxury that we call civilization, and he will stop at nothing to gain money, especially in a country where extortion brings much and work very little.

It is in Bosnia, in the centre of pure Mohammedanism, that we see how cheap and simple is the life of the Mussulman. When we think of harems we readily imagine them to be places of delight, where all the splendours of the East are brought together. Madame Moreau, who has often visited them, says that, except in the houses of very rich *Pachas* or *Beys*, they are more like the cells of a monastery. A bad floor, half covered by a mat and some rags of old carpet, whitewashed walls, no furniture, neither table, chair, nor bed. All round are broad wooden forms covered with carpet, which serve for a seat by day and a bed by night. The wooden lattices which enclose the windows make semi-darkness: in the evening a candle or a small lamp throws a pale light on this melancholy place of abode. The *selamlik*, the men's apartments, are neither more cheerful nor more ornamental. In the winter it is terribly cold; the badly fitting woodwork does not join, and allows the keen wind to blow through, and the badly repaired roof lets in the snow and rain. The copper *mangal*, which is like the *brasero* of the Spanish and Italians, gets warm only when the coal is sufficiently incandescent to fill the air with its vapours of carbonic acid.

The wife does not take much trouble with the cooking, and the meats are always the same. A kind of unleavened bread, *pogatcha*, very heavy and hard, soup, *tchorba*, made of sour milk, some scraps of roast mutton, the eternal *pilaf*, rice, mixed with the remains of minced lamb, and lastly *pipta*, a sweet and farinaceous dish. The great copper tray, *tepschia*, on which all the other dishes are placed, is set upon a wooden support: there is a wooden spoon for each person; each, sitting cross-legged on the ground, helps himself with his fingers. At the end of the repast the ewer is passed round, they wash their hands, and dry them upon beautifully embroidered linen; then comes coffee and the *chibouk*. The *Bey* only spends money in keeping his servants and horses, or in buying the rich harness and beautiful arms that he hangs on the walls of the *selamlık*. Mussulmans of the middle class have hot meat only once or twice a week. This simple method of life explains two distinctive traits of Mohammedan society: first, why Mussulmans do so little to earn money; secondly, how it is that the most imperfect administrative mechanism answers tolerably so long as the refinements and complications of our civilization have not created more fictitious needs. Western luxury ruins them irremediably.

A great hindrance to Mussulman progress is clearly not so much polygamy as the position of woman. She has scarcely any education; she never opens a book, not even the Koran, for she would not understand it. Having no relations with outside things, always shut up like a prisoner in this lugubrious harem, her life differs little from that of a nun. She goes out but seldom: I never met any Mussulman women in the streets of Sarajewo, except the beggars. She knows nothing of what goes on outside, not even of her husband's business. Her only occupation is to embroider, her only amusement to make and smoke cigarettes; she has not, like the man, the *kaij* in the cafés, and the enjoyment of the beauties of nature. The wife of the artizan or shopkeeper can do nothing to help her husband: her life is, then, completely empty, useless, and monotonous.

The Austrian ladies, who live here and know Croat, can easily mix with the ladies of the Bosnian Mussulmans, because they speak the same language; but they say that conversation is impossible; these poor recluses have absolutely nothing to say. And it is these ignorant nonentities who bring up the children to a somewhat advanced age! Think of all that woman does in the Christian family, the important place she takes, the influence she exerts, and remember that the Mohammedans lack it all. Does not this explain how it is that they cannot assimilate with Western civilization?

However limited their religious education may be, Mussulmans are extremely bigoted and fanatical. Thus the men regularly take the five baths, which, according to the ritual of *abdess*, ought to precede the five prescribed prayers, which they repeat by heart, like a magic formula. Marriages are made blindly, and as at a market, without the slightest regard to the feelings of the young girl: besides, sentiment can hardly be said to exist in her; at the most only instincts or appetites awakened by the unrestrained conversation of the harems.

However, amongst the three methods of concluding a marriage there is one in which the woman acts as a person, instead of being handed over like a bale of goods. This is marriage by rape. In the works of Bachofen, Mac-Lennan, Post, and Giraud-Teulon, a special branch of sociology, treats of the origins of the family. They tell us that collectivity and promiscuity reigned amongst the primitive tribes, that the family was "matriarchal" before it was "patriarchal," because the descendants knew the mother only; that the unions were always "endogamous"—that is, contracted in the same group or tribe; that later they became "exogamous"—that is, they were made with a woman of another tribe, whom it was necessary to carry off. This was marriage by rape, which is found, at the beginning, amongst all peoples, and which is still widely practised amidst savage tribes, so that the husband paid the father of the tribe, not the price of merchandise, but a composition, almost *wehrgeld*.

Here is, according to M. Strauss, the way in which this form of marriage is practised amongst the Bosnian Mussulmans. A young man has seen a girl several times across the bars of the *moucharabi*; their looks tell that they love one another. "The dove" learns by an obliging intermediate at what time her well-beloved will come to carry her off; he arrives on horseback, armed with a pistol. The young girl, closely veiled, mounts behind him; he sets off at a gallop, but at the end of a hundred steps he stops and lets off his pistol; his friends, posted at various spots in the neighbourhood, answer him by gunshots. Every one knows then that a rape has been committed, and the medium hastens to be first with the parents. The ravisher conducts his betrothed to the harem of his house, but he does not stay with her. During the seven days through which the preparations for the marriage last, he remains seated in the *selamlik*, where, dressed in his gala attire, he receives his friends.

The parents always finish by consenting, because their daughter would be disgraced if she returned home unmarried. Some women, relations or friends, stay with the bride, bathe her and dress her, all in white. All together repeat the prayers of the ritual. The young girl is made to fast severely during the seven days; she may eat, and drinks water only once a day, and that after sunset. On the seventh day the friends meet in large numbers; she is ceremoniously bathed again, and then dressed in her holiday clothes, a richly embroidered tunic, and a fez with gold braid, covered with a linen *beskir*, ornamented with ducats: she has to remain motionless, lying down with her face to the ground, meditating and praying. During this time the women noiselessly disappear, one by one, and when they are all gone, the husband enters the harem for the first time. Is it not more like taking the veil in a convent than like a wedding? We see how far a brutal custom of savages is transformed, purified, and ennobled when imbued with religious sentiment and ceremonial, under the influence of the Koran.

The second method of marriage is that called "at sight." A medium proposes an agreement between the two parties. On the day fixed the father receives the aspirant in the *sela-mlik*. Then the girl enters, her face uncovered, her bosom hardly veiled by light gauze. The young man drinks his coffee whilst contemplating his intended, and gives her the empty cup, saying, "God reward you, beautiful child!" She retires without speaking, and, if she has pleased the young man, he sends a ring the next day to the father, on which he has had his name engraved. At the end of eight days the wedding, called *dujun*, takes place. The relations and friends bring useful gifts for the new household, and they feast as long as there is anything left to eat, the men on the ground-floor, the women on the floor above.

The third method of marriage is chiefly in use in rich families. It is only a business of arrangement, as in some Christian countries. The marriage is concluded without the bride and bridegroom having seen each other. The festivities are at the father's house. Towards evening, the husband on one side, the wife on the other, are conducted, with the accompaniment of music and gunshots, to their common dwelling, where they see each other for the first time. Too cruel deceptions are remedied by divorce, or, as evil speakers insinuate, by still more expeditious means.

Although a Bosnian proverb says that it is easier to take care of a bag of fleas than of a woman, the most fascinating officers of the army of Occupation—and it is well known how charming the Hungarians are—are said to find here only unconquerable hearts. Adultery is not yet one of the habitual condiments of Mussulman society.

The strongest characteristic of the Bosnian formed by the Koran is an absolute resignation which might be envied by the most exalted ascetic. He bears calamities and suffering uncomplainingly. He will say, with Job: "The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; blessed



be the name of the Lord." If he is ill, he does not send for the doctor ; if his time is not yet come, God will cure him ; if he feels that death is approaching, he is not afraid : he converses with the *hodscha*, disposes of part of his wealth for good works, or, if he is very rich, founds a mosque ; then he dies, repeating his prayers. The family meet together ; no one weeps ; the body is washed ; nose, mouth, and ears are stuffed with wadding, that evil spirits may not enter, and the same day he is buried, wrapped in a white shroud, without a coffin. A stone, wrought into the shape of a turban for a man, is placed upon the burial-place, which becomes sacred. Cemeteries are to be found everywhere in the environs of Sarajewo.

This method of accepting everything that happens as the result of unalterable laws certainly gives to the Mussulman character an amount of manly stoicism that one admires in spite of one's self. But it is not a source of progress—quite otherwise. He who finds all bad, and aspires to what is better, will act vigorously to bring about the improvement. There is an ascetic side to Christianity very like Mussulman resignation ; but, on the other hand, the prophets of Christ rebel and protest with eloquent vehemence against the world as it is, and against natural laws. They aspire, with their whole soul, towards an ideal of happiness and justice which they wish to see realized, even by giving the universe to the flames in the cosmic cataclysm described by the Gospel as the end of the world. This thirst for the ideal it is which, entered into the blood of Christian nations, makes their superiority, impelling them from progress to progress.

There are still other causes which, here as everywhere, will tend to bring the Mussulmans down to the level of the *rayas* : they lose ground from the moment that they are no longer masters, and equality before the law prevails. The true Mohammedan knows, and wishes to know, only one book, the Koran. All other science is useless or dangerous. If it is false that Omar burned the library at Alexandria, it is certain that the Turks have reduced to

ashes those of the kings of Hungary and of most of the convents which they pillaged at the conquest of the Balkan Peninsula. The Koran is both a civil and political code, a code of religion, a code of morality, and a code of law ; and its commands are unalterable ; therefore, it petrifies and arrests. Certainly the Koran is a most remarkable book, and it is undeniable that it has given to its followers a lofty character, so long as they submit to it. No one is more profoundly religious than a Mussulman. But it is a serious blank for the Bosnian, at the same time Mussulman and Slav, that he cannot understand the book which is everything to him, nor even the prayers he repeats every day and in all important circumstances of his life. It cannot fail to cause a terrible blank in the mind. It may be objected that Catholic peasants, who are forbidden to read the Bible in their mother tongue, and whose only ceremonial of worship is the Mass in Latin, are in the same position ; but it is not they either who lead the van of what we call progress. Slowly, but inevitably, the Mussulmans of Bosnia, formerly the masters and to-day the principal landowners in the country, will sink in the social scale, and will finally be driven away. Austria ought not to molest them, but she would be wrong to favour them, or to rely too much on their support.

It is the Jews who will rise the most rapidly, and will profit the most by the order and security which reign in Bosnia. Already a great part of the trade is in their hands, and soon much town property will also be bought up by them. The most enterprising are those who come from Austria and Hungary. The Bosnian Jews are descended from the unfortunate refugees who fled for their lives from Spain in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries ; they still speak Spanish, and write it with Hebrew letters. During my journey from Brod to Sarajewo I heard feminine voices speaking Spanish in a third-class carriage. I saw a mother, of the most marked Oriental type, accompanied by two charming daughters—all three were in Turkish costume, without the *yashmak*. Strange sight ! who were

they? whence came they? I found that they were Spanish Jews, returning to Sarajewo. This persistence in preserving the ancient traditions is marvellous. These Jews have altogether adopted the dress and method of life of the Mussulmans; for this reason, and perhaps because of the resemblance between the two religions, they have been less persecuted than the Christians. There are 5,805 in Bosnia, of whom more than 2,000 live at Sarajewo. They take a position in the conduct of business which is out of all proportion to their number. Almost all exports and imports are made through them. They all live simply, even the richest; they fear to attract attention. They all pay the strictest regard to the ceremonies of their faith; they do not yield to the Mussulmans in this respect. On Saturday, no one is missing from the synagogue, and most of them attend there every morning when the *muezzin* calls the children of Mohammed to prayers.

They never appeal to the *Mudir* to settle the differences which arise amongst them; the head of the community, with the help of two elders, decide as arbitrators, and this decision is accepted as final. Before and after meals they wash their hands in an ewer, which is carried round the table, and say long prayers. They have their Rabbis, the *Chachams*, but, unlike the Catholic priests or the popes of the Eastern Church, they do not exact money from the faithful: they live by a trade, like St. Paul. It is true that they have no theological education; they can only recite the prayers and chants of their ritual. The sentiment of solidarity and natural support which unites Jewish families and communities is admirable. They help and forward one another, and even raise the taxes in common, the rich bearing the share of the poor. But as yet they have done nothing for the education of their women; very few of them know how to read. They have no middle-class school; in their harems not a book, not a picture, nor any mental culture. They spend their life, like the Mohammedan women, in smoking cigarettes, embroidery, and chatter. They scarcely ever go out; but they are more occupied

with their household arrangements, for their husbands care much more than the *Beys* for good fare.

The Mussulman and the Jew do business in an altogether different manner. The first is not eager for gain; he waits for the buyer, and if he does not come, he does not keenly regret it, for he keeps his wares to which he is attached. The second does all he can to attract the customer; he addresses him with taking words, he offers him his best coffee and most perfumed cigars, he only sells to buy more, for capital must roll. Look at the two seated at the café. The Mussulman is absorbed in his *kaif*; he enjoys the present time; he is content with the leisure which is given him by Allah; he does not think of the morrow; his vague fixed eye shows a dreamy, almost ecstatic state; he attains the felicities of the contemplative life; he is at the gate of Paradise. The Jew has a bright, restless eye; he talks, he gains information, he asks the price of things; the present never satisfies him; he is thinking always how to get richer; he estimates the circumstances which will bring a rise or fall, and deduces the means that will make him gain by it. Certainly he will make his fortune, but what will he do with it? Which of the two is right? It may perhaps well be the Mussulman, for what is money good for, except to enjoy it, and to make others enjoy it? But in this world, where the "struggle for life" of the prehistoric forest is continued in economic relations, he who acts and foresees will drive out him who enjoys and dreams. If we wish to understand the Israelite of the Middle Ages, his ideas, customs, and beliefs, it is here that they must be studied.

There is in Bosnia still another interesting race, whom I have met throughout the Peninsula. It is as active, economical, enterprising as the Jews, and also more willing to undertake manual labour. This is the *Tzintzars*, who are also called *Kutzo-Valaks*, *Lame-Valaks*, or Macedonians. They are found in all the towns, where they are in business, and in the country places, where they keep the inns, like the Jews of Poland and Galicia. They are very

good masons, and were the only ones in Bosnia before the arrival of the Italian *muratori*. They are also carpenters, and execute work of this kind very skilfully. They are said to have built all the most important buildings in the Peninsula—churches, bridges, and stone houses. Their taste is also praised in the manufacture of filigree articles and jewellery; some of them are rich and have a large business. The founder of the famous house of Sina at Vienna was a *Tzintzar*. They are found even at Vienna and Pesth, where they are looked on as Greeks, because they profess the faith of the Oriental Church, and are devoted to the Greek nationality. However, they are of Roumanian race, and descend from those Valaks who lived on the produce of their flocks, in some mountainous districts—Greece, Thrace, and Albania. The *Tzintzars* are dispersed beyond the country of their birth, throughout the East. They are hardly anywhere numerous enough to form a distinct group except near Tuzla, in the village of Slovik, in Istria, near Monte-Maggiore, near lake Tchespitch, and in some other places. Their houses and gardens are in much better order than their neighbours': their honesty towards each other is proverbial, they adopt the dress and language of the country they inhabit, but they do not intermix with other races. They preserve a separate type, very easy to recognize.

Whence come these special aptitudes which distinguish them so clearly from the Bosnian Mussulmans and Christians amongst whom they dwell? They are evidently habits acquired and transmitted hereditarily. It is impossible to attribute them either to race or religion, for their brothers in Roumania of the same race and religion have never yet possessed them. What a pity that there are not some thousands of *Tzintzars* in Bosnia! They would contribute even more than the Jews to the increase of wealth, because they are admirable workers as well as good merchants.

I heard much of an English lady who has been at Sarajewo for several years, Miss Irby. She lives in a large house at

the end of a nice garden ; she spends her time in spreading education and the gospel. The toleration granted to her by the Turkish Government is continued by Austria. Not far from there I saw a large depôt of the Bible Society ; its sales are not great, for nearly every one here, even those who are comfortably off, live in a holy horror of printed matter. Miss Irby has established an orphanage, where are found thirty-eight girls, between three and twenty-three, in one house, and seven or eight boys in another. The older ones teach the younger ; they do all the work—till the garden and learn to cook. They are greatly sought in marriage by teachers and young popes. Good seed for the future. Who will come to Miss Irby's help ?

Christians of the Eastern Church are more numerous than Catholics in Bosnia-Herzegovina. As we have seen, the official statistics of 1886 recorded 571,210 of the first, and only 265,788 of the second : 3,447 Othodox Easterns live at Sarajewo ; many of them are in trade and in comfortable circumstances, but of the 21,377 inhabitants of the capital, 14,848 are Mussulmans, 70 to the 100. It is remarkable that the Orthodox have remained so faithful to their traditional faith, for they have been mercilessly fleeced by the Phanariote clergy. The Patriarch of Constantinople is elected at an enormous cost. M. Strauss, who seems well informed, states that the election of 1864 would cost more than 100,000 ducats : half to the Turkish Government, half to the Pachas and eunuchs. In order to raise the money, affirms our author, the rich Phanariote families formed a society with shares. This advanced the *baksheech*, which were returned with profit. How ? By the same system. The bishoprics were sold by auction, and the bishops were re-imbursed by the popes, who recouped themselves from the whole body of the faithful. The ecclesiastical hierarchy was then only a systematic organization of simony, which, like a powerful force-pump, finished the spoliation of the peasants, already touched to the quick by the Treasury and the *Bey*s. The unfortunate popes had themselves hardly any means of subsistence,

but the bishops had from £2,000 to £2,500 a year, and the Patriarch lived like a prince. The clearest of all these spoliations was sent to Constantinople, which sold the right of fleecing the faithful to the highest bidder. There were in the two provinces four bishoprics or eparchies, 14 convents, and 437 secular or regular popes. This is the way they obtained their cure. A relation or *protégé* of the pope helps him in his ecclesiastical service: when he had collected the money which was expected from the cure, whether it was 20 or 200 ducats, he went to take it to the bishop, who did not hesitate to appoint him, even if he had to deprive an acting priest—at least, unless he gave more.

Many of these popes can hardly read or write; they recite the prayers and chants by heart. The Orthodox Church has no wealth in Bosnia, and the popes have no fixed income; but the faithful support them and give them gifts in kind at great festivals or religious ceremonies—marriage, birth, burial. They thus receive wheat, sheep, fowls, and at the death of the father of a family an ox, and at the death of the mother a cow.

The Bosnians dread greatly the influence of bad spirits, fairies, which they call *vilas*, and they often have recourse to exorcisms, for which they have to pay well. The bishop claims so many of these gifts in kind and money that the popes are reduced to till the ground with their own hands to gain their daily bread.

The same scandalous sale of livings took place in Servia, Wallachia, and Bulgaria, everywhere where the Orthodox clergy were dependent on the Phanar, and it is now followed in Macedonia, notwithstanding the formal promise of the Porte and the Powers to free this unhappy country, at least in its ecclesiastical relationships. Austria hastened to sever the hurtful tie which attached the Orthodox Church in Bosnia to the Patriarchate of Constantinople. On March 31, 1880, an agreement was signed with the Œcumenical Patriarch, in virtue of which the Emperor of Austria-Hungary acquiesced the right to appoint the bishops

of the Eastern Church in Bosnia, in consideration of an annual payment of about £480 sterling by the Government. This charter of freedom seems to me so important, and is so beneficial to the people of the Eastern Church, that I think it may be useful to give the terms. "The bishops of the Orthodox Church now in office are confirmed and maintained in the episcopal seats which they occupy. In case of a vacancy of one of the three metropolitan seats in Bosnia and Herzegovina, his Royal Apostolic Imperial Majesty will appoint the new Metropolitan to the vacant seat, after having communicated the name of his candidate to the Œcumenical Patriarch, in order that the canonical formalities may be complied with." The Orthodox bishops can then no longer buy their office by auction from the Phanar, and consequently they ought no longer to extort the price from the unhappy faithful.

To prevent corruption, the Government pays directly to the Metropolitans an income of from 5,000 to 8,000 florins. The agents of the Treasury raised a tax, *vladi-karina*, of 10d. to 1s. 2d. on each family. By an Imperial decree of April 20, 1885, this tax was taken off, to the great joy of the Orthodox. At the same time the administration exerts a right of general control over the pecuniary side of ecclesiastical affairs, and it has opened an inquiry into the position and revenue of the different cures and convents. These are excellent measures.

The Orthodox convents in Bosnia are neither rich nor full; some of them contain only four or five monks, but the people are much attached to them. When the peasant sees a monk pass by with his large black *cafetan*, and his long hair descending on his shoulders, he falls on his knees, and sometimes embraces his feet. Frequent pilgrimages are made to the monasteries, which are generally situated in the mountains, or amidst the woods. The faithful flock in crowds, with flags and music; they camp out, they dance, they sing, they bring quantities of wax candles, and they buy images, glass trinkets, cheap necklaces, which they keep as relics. The new seminary of



Keljewo, with its four years' course, will by degrees raise the intellectual level of the Orthodox clergy.

The Austrian Government is also now occupied with education. Here, again, are revealed the disastrous effects of the Turkish dominion, and its complete powerlessness to carry out reforms. To imitate what is done for education in the West, the Porte enacted, in 1869, an excellent law. Each village, each division of a town, must have its own primary school. In important places, middle-class scholastic institutions must be organized, with a system of classes, more complete as the population was more numerous, and a suitable endowment was given for the masters' salaries—an organization that might, it seems, be envied by France and England. This fine project came to nothing. The *Beys* would not have schools for their own children, who did not need them, and still less for the children of the *rayas*, whom it was dangerous to educate. Besides, the Turkish Government was short of money. The law, so admirable upon paper, remained a dead letter. However, thanks to the *vakoufs*, the Mussulmans possess almost everywhere, under the shadow of the mosques, a primary school, *mekteb*, and theological schools, *madrassahs*, where they study the exegesis of the Koran, and commentaries upon it. Before the Occupation there were 499 *mektebs* and 18 *madrassahs*, in which instruction was given by 660 *hodschas* to 15,948 boys and 9,360 girls. The schools have mostly remained in existence, but as they are of an essentially denominational character, the Government does not take them up. The scholars only learn to recite passages of the Koran by heart. In fact, there are special difficulties for the Bosnian Mussulmans. They must first familiarize themselves with the Arabic characters, which are difficult to read in manuscript; and then they are confronted at the very beginning by two foreign languages, with no relation to their mother-tongue, Croat, Arabic as the language of their religion, and Turkish the official language. It is almost as if our children had to know Greek to learn the catechism, and Celtic to write to the mayor.

There are schools for the Catholics in the Franciscan convents, and the neighbouring families can take advantage of them, but they are not numerous. The Orthodox find no teaching in their convents, where a holy ignorance reigns. However, thanks to private liberality and parental sacrifice, there were, at the time of the Occupation, 56 schools of the Eastern Church and 54 of the Latin, having together 5,913 scholars of both sexes.

The tradespeople of the Eastern Church have made sacrifices for middle-class education. They supported a normal school at Sarajewo with 240 scholars, and another at Mostar with 180, and also a school for girls in each of these towns. Thanks to a legacy of 50,000 francs from the merchant Risto-Nikolitch Trozlitch, a gymnasium has been established at Sarajewo, where they even teach the dead languages.

Immediately after the Occupation the Austrian Administration attempted to reorganize methods of education. It was not easy, for a staff of teachers was entirely lacking. It maintained the Turkish law of 1869, and endeavoured by degrees to carry it out. It tried to multiply undenominational schools, where the ministers of the various churches should give religious instruction out of school hours. In 1883 there were forty-two of these schools, with fifty-nine teachers, male and female, and, extraordinary thing in this country of religious hatreds, scholars of the different faiths met together: 1,655 Orthodox, 1,064 Catholics, 426 Mussulmans, and 192 Israelites. The education is free. The State gives 26,380 gulden, and the communes 17,761. The teacher receives 600 gulden, with a house and garden. From one year to another the number of Mohammedan children accepting lay teaching has doubled—a fact well worth remarking. They are asking for an army of volunteers capable of teaching reading and writing, and are giving them payment in proportion to the results obtained, according to the excellent principle in force in England, of remuneration by results. Regular attendance will be made obligatory as soon as there is a sufficient

number of schools. At Sarajewo were established in succession, first a boarding-school, where middle-class education is given, chiefly to the sons of officials, then a gymnasium, where the dead languages are taught, and finally a high school for girls.

I give the results of the scholastic census of 1883. Mussulman schools, *mektebs* and *madrasahs*, 661 *hodschas*, or masters, and 27,557 scholars of both sexes; 92 Christian denominational schools of both churches, with 137 teachers, male and female, 4,770 scholars; 42 governmental lay schools, with 59 teachers, 2,876 boys, and 468 girls. Total, 35,661 scholars, which, for 1,336,091 inhabitants, gives less than three scholars to each hundred. In 1883 the gymnasium had 124 scholars, belonging to five different faiths: 50 Orthodox, 43 Catholic, 9 Israelites, 8 Mohammedans, and 4 Protestants.

The great quarrel about the alphabet shows us to what an extent denominational susceptibilities are aroused in Bosnia. All speak the same language, Servian, *i.e.*, Croat, only the Catholics write it with the Latin alphabet, and the Orthodox with the Cyrillic one. To make it easier for the teacher, the Government ordered that, in the undenominational schools, the Latin alphabet only should be used. The Orthodox objected violently; for them the Cyrillic characters were a part of their faith; whoever would replace them by the Western characters struck a blow at their religion. The Government was obliged to give way, that it might not provoke a formidable protest.

The Orthodox put the following inscription on their schools in Cyrillic letters: "*Srbsko narodno uclilischte*," that is, "Popular Servian School." By Servian they mean here the Eastern Church, but as M. Strauss points out, the right word would be *pravoslavno*, "Orthodox, or true faith."

It seems to me that the exchange of the Cyrillic for the Latin alphabet would be very beneficial to the Jugo-Slav cause, for it would efface a barrier between the Servians and the Croats. Croats, Montenegrins, Bosnians, and Servians speak the same language—why should they not

use the same characters? The Roumanians have given up the Cyrillic characters; has the Catholic propaganda profited thereby? In Germany books are printed more and more in Latin letters, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Bismarck; how can that damage the originality of the scientific works or literary publications of Germany?

What changes there are, also, since the Occupation, in the means of communication and of correspondence! When I came, some years ago, to Brod, on my way to Bosnia, I was stopped there, not only by the difficulties of the further journey, but even more by a dread of the uncertainties of the post. The only way at all practicable for carriages was by the Save to Sarajewo. Letters were forwarded with so little regularity and care, that they took a fortnight to reach the frontier, where they were often lost. For important messages, merchants sent a messenger; there was little writing from one place to another in the country, and still less abroad. The Government, at which the West had taken umbrage, could only rejoice.

Austria had scarcely entered Bosnia when she began to make roads, and this railway of Brod-Sarajewo, which measures 271 kilomètres, with a gauge of 76 centimetres, and which has cost 9,425,000 gulden, including the great bridge over the Save. It will be continued so as to unite the capital to the Adriatic by Mostar and the Valley of Narenta; the section Metkovitz-Mostar, 42 kilomètres in length, has just been opened; it has cost £160,000, paid by Austria. It opens the market for the wealth of timber in the forests of the mountains of Yvan and Veles-Planina. About 1,700 kilomètres of carriage roads have been made, and the work has been chiefly done by the army, which keeps 1,275 kilomètres in repair. Fourteen millions of gulden have been spent upon means of communication since the Occupation, of which thirteen millions have been given by the Empire.

Bosnia has joined the general postal Union, and letters are delivered there with as much regularity as in our own

West. In 1881 there were 51 post offices, and in 1883 180 kilomètres of telegraph wires, with 65 offices, which had sent 656,206 telegrams. The extraordinary increase of the postal business is a most incontestable proof of progress accomplished.\* It is by the multiplication of means of rapid communication that this region, which under Turkish rule was more isolated than China, will join in the movement of Western Europe, to which it is brought nearer than the other provinces of the Balkan Peninsula. At the Roman epoch and in the Middle Ages the civilizing influences emanating from Italy entered Bosnia by means of the cities of the Adriatic; the same thing will happen again, but with greater intensity, in proportion to the greater facility of communication.

I think it may be useful to give some details of the method in which Austria has attempted law reforms, because France in Africa, England in India, Holland in Java, and Russia in Asia, have to confront the same problem. It is a great difficulty, for in a Mussulman country the civil, penal, and religious codes are so closely united, that any change is liable to be regarded as an attack on Islamism. The Occupation had completely upset the judicial organization. The magistrates, all Mussulmans, and chiefly strangers to the country, had gone away. The town and country courts, *medzlessi temizi*, *medzlessi duari*, were reconstituted with the *kadis*, but under the presidency of an Austrian; and a Supreme Court was established at Sarajewo, whose members were taken from the Austro-Hungarian provinces. It heard all the appeals,

\* The exact figures are so eloquent that we quote them. The number of letters and postal packets sent through the post in Bosnia-Herzegovina has increased as follows:

LETTERS.			PARCELS.		
1880	...	2,984,463	1880	...	187,112
1881	...	4,065,324	1881	...	127,703
1882	...	5,594,184	1882	...	161,446
1883	...	5,705,972	1883	...	435,985

The postal business has, then, been doubled in four years.

in order to introduce uniformity and legality into the decisions. The members of this court are now competent Austrian magistrates, speaking Bosnian.

Everything relating to marriage, filiation, and inheritance has been left to the different confessions, according to the existing laws, to avoid arousing religious scruples. The Government enacted successively a Penal Code, a Code of Criminal Procedure, a Code of Civil Procedure, a Code of Commerce, and a Bankruptcy Law. It even went so far as to codify the laws concerning marriage, the family, and succession, but these were submitted to the approval of the ecclesiastical authorities; and at the same time it confirmed the competence of the Mohammedan tribunals of the *Scheriat*, and the necessary qualifications to take part in it. The appeal from the judgments of the *Scheriat* takes place before the Supreme Court, but with the addition, in this case, of two superior judges, who are Mussulmans.

An excellent institution has been started with the intention of rendering the administration of justice quick and cheap. In each district is a tribunal composed of the *sous-préfet* (*Bezirks-Vorsther*), and two assistants of each faith, elected by their co-religionists. This tribunal is itinerant, like the English judges; it sits successively in the centre of each commune, to save the inhabitants the need of travelling. It decides summarily, and without appeal, all minor cases up to fifty gulden, which, in a primitive country, includes the greater number of the suits. The country people, who formerly paid so dear for justice, are delighted, and have taken part in the voting for these assistants with much spirit. The elected judges are well spoken of; the *régime* of election has therefore been successfully inaugurated. This judicial reform is an inestimable benefit, for there is nothing worse for a country than the impossibility of obtaining true justice promptly.

An important fact proves the advantages which result from the security guaranteed to all. The *kmets* are beginning to buy the property of the small landlords, the *agas*, who emigrate or are ruined. It is this economic trans-

formation that the Government ought to protect. The Austrian Administration is reproached for its slowness and procrastination ; here, on the contrary, it has advanced along the path of reform with a rapid and firm step, and it appears to have completely succeeded. It is incredible how much work has been done in this branch alone.

The Administrator-General of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Baron Kállay, who is also Minister of Finances for the Empire, wishes to endow these provinces with a true communal autonomy. The difficulty is great, because of the hostility of the different confessions and the predominance of the Mussulman element, which would not be slow in subjecting the rest. A first attempt has been made in the capital, Sarajewo, constituted into a commune. The decree of the 10th of December, 1883, gave it the following organization. A town council examines and discusses all affairs of municipal interest : it is composed of twenty-four members, of whom twelve must be Mohammedans, six Orthodox of the Eastern Church, three Catholic, and three Israelites. It was necessary to provide for the rights of the various confessions, otherwise the Mussulmans, having the majority, would have excluded the others ; for, according to the official statistics of 1880, there were, in a population of 21,399, no less than 14,848 Mohammedans, and only 3,949 Orthodox of the Eastern Church, 698 Catholics, and 2,099 Israelites. The executive power is confined to the magistracy, which is composed of a Burgomaster and a Vice-Burgomaster, appointed by the Governor and the Commissioners of the Division, the *muktaris*. One-third of the members of the Municipal Council is appointed by the Government, the other two-thirds are elected by the electoral body. The electoral qualification is the payment of two gulden for land tax, or nine gulden personal tax, or twenty-five gulden tax on the sale of wood, or an annual rent of one hundred gulden. To be eligible as representative, three times this amount must be paid.

The first elections took place on the 13th of March, 1884. 76 in every 100 electors hastened to use their right,

and everything passed off with the greatest order. Every one is satisfied with the zeal and intelligence that the town council brings to the accomplishment of its mission. Amongst the 23,040 inhabitants of Sarajewo at that time—1,663 more than in 1879—there were found 1,106 electors, of whom 531 were Mohammedans, 195 Orthodox, 257 Catholics, and 123 Israelites. The number eligible for election were 418, of whom 233 were Mussulmans, 105 Orthodox, 24 Catholics, and 56 Israelites. The Catholics, having relatively more electors and fewer eligible candidates, must belong to the poorer classes. It is impossible to deny to Austria the merit of having everywhere respected communal autonomies, which are, it is impossible to repeat it too often, the most solid foundation of liberty.

Baron Kállay was very proud to present a budget which balanced; and when we think of the expenses of the colonies and annexations of other European States, we see that he had reason so to be. I have by me in detail the budget of Bosnia-Herzegovina for 1884: ordinary and extraordinary expenses together amounted to 7,356,277 gulden, and the revenues to 7,412,615, which gives 56,338 surplus. Which other great State can say as much? It is true that the army of Occupation remains at the cost of the Empire, but if these soldiers are kept here rather than elsewhere, the expense is not thereby increased.

Here is the amount of the chief taxes in 1883. The tithe of 10 per cent. upon all field and garden produce, paid in money according to the price of the produce, fixed annually: 2,552,000 gulden. Tax upon real estate, 4 per 1,000; on land, 252,000 gulden; on houses, 107,000 gulden. The tax *verghi*, in districts where the preceding tax is not yet arranged, 176,000 gulden. Tax for licenses, 3 per cent. on the estimated receipts, 91,000 gulden; tax on rented houses, 4 per cent., 34,000 gulden; tax upon sheep and goats, 18 kreutzer per head (100 kr.=1 gulden=2s.), 218,000 gulden; tax upon pigs, at 35 kr. each, 39,000 gulden; tax upon the sale of wood, 51,000 gulden; customs,



600,000 gulden (paid by the empire as part of the general custom revenue) ; stamps and registration, 326,000 gulden. More fortunate than Prince Bismarck, Baron Kállay has organized the monopoly of tobacco, which already returns 2,127,000 gulden; and salt, 992,000 gulden. He has put a tax upon beer, which, at 16 krs. per hecolitre, has given 11,000 gulden ; and a tax upon alcohol, which at 3 krs. per hecolitre, and according to strength, produces 76,000 gulden. On the other hand, the tax on the revenue of cultivators, which, at 3 per cent., would bring 225,000 gulden, has been taken off—excellent measure ! also the detestable tax of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. on the sale of fat beasts, the tax *vladikarina*, of 40 to 75 kreutzers per house, which the Orthodox paid for the support of their clergy, and who rejoice greatly over this reform ; and, finally, the special tax levied on each Christian between the ages of fifteen and seventy-five to free him from military service ; and these details, possibly very minute, are, however, instructive. If analyzed they exhibit all the economic conditions in the clearest manner. How striking is the paucity of the products—a certain proof of the small development of the wealth of the country !

Austria has found in Baron Kállay an incomparable administrator, admirably suited to govern the occupied provinces. Hungarian by birth, knowing Eastern and Western languages, an educated economist, a brilliant writer, having thoroughly studied the situation in the Peninsula, where for several years he represented his country at Belgrade ; the author of the best history of Servia, and, lastly, I think I may add, an enlightened friend of liberty and progress, who has succeeded where his predecessor failed. He visits Bosnia, the constant object of his labours, almost every year, and is much beloved there. Since the administration of this country, formerly so insubordinate, has been in his hands, there have been no more insurrections. It may be expected that his equitable and enlightened administration will be able to prevent them in the future.

Still, it may be asked if the reforms accomplished, order insured, agriculture encouraged, roads made, grants given to schools, the means of communication multiplied—all these improvements—have inspired the people with the gratitude which such a work of intelligent re-organization undeniably deserves. From the conflicting opinions I have heard I draw these conclusions.

The Mohammedans understand and own that they have been treated with the greatest consideration, and quite differently from what they expected. The principal *Beys* even support the Government, but the others, that is the mass of the Mussulman landowners, small or great, see that this is the end of the despotic power with which they used and abused their vassals. They will not soon forgive Austria, who, with a strong hand, has imposed equality before the law, already, but fruitlessly, proclaimed by the Porte. The Orthodox of the Eastern Church are sullen and disturbed, notwithstanding what has been done for them. They fear that the Austrians will favour an Ultramontane propaganda. Thus, as was shown in the affair of the Cyrillic alphabet, they see in every change an attack on their Church, which, with them, is blended with their nationality. Considering themselves as members of the Servian Church, they have sympathies with Servia; they have nothing to complain of, because the Government gives them the same help as others, but they distrust its intentions. The Catholics at least ought to be contented, for Austria is reproached with doing everything for them, but they are not, the thankless ones! They have been slightly deceived; they thought that henceforth they alone would be the masters, and that places, subsidies and favours would be exclusively reserved for them. Their equal treatment seems to them an injustice. Also the way in which the Franciscans have been treated, a Magyar priest having been made Archbishop of Bosnia, has produced coldness. Thus, then, no one of the three sections of the people is completely satisfied. But except perhaps a party of Mussulmans, there is, I think, not one that will not soon

be led to appreciate the undeniable benefits of the new order of things.

What, then, must we say of the occupation by Austria? If, forgetting all political rivalries, we consider only the progress of civilization in Europe, there can be no possible doubt that every friend of humanity ought to approve with his whole heart. Under the Turkish rule, disorder, with its cruel sufferings and unutterable miseries, was increasing; beneath the new rule, the improvement will be rapid and general. But was there no better way? Would it not have been preferable to unite Bosnia-Herzegovina to Serbia?

Let us suppose that Austria would be so absolutely disinterested as to resign herself to see beforehand that, some day, Croatia would join Serbia, increased by Bosnia, and thus reconstitute the empire of Dushan, still, two great difficulties present themselves at once. The first is this; the Bosnian Mussulmans, who have opposed an Austrian army of 80,000 men, and who count a corps of 25,000 picked soldiers, submit to Austria, because they know she can throw into the country half a million of excellent troops; but would they accept in the same way the dominion of Serbia, which, in ordinary times, has an army of only 15,000? There would be in this a permanent danger of conflict and a source of expense that would crush the young kingdom of Serbia under the burden of the heavy contributions required.

The second obstacle is still more serious. Bosnia-Herzegovina, annexed to Serbia, would be further separated from Dalmatia, and consequently from the littoral and ports which are its natural and indispensable complement. Nothing could be more unfortunate. It would be an insurrection against the geographical necessities, which strike every one, and which have been recognized in the Treaty of Berlin. We must not follow an ideal which cannot possibly be realized now. Austria, by helping to increase wealth and education in Bosnia, is preparing for the greatness of the Jougo-Slav race. The

future will find the definite combinations. *Fata viam inveniunt*. The movement of nationalities, which tends to blend the populations of the same race and blood in one State, is so powerful, so irresistible, that a day will come when the Slav tribes of the South will reunite under a Federal Government, either in the transformed Austrian Empire, or in an independent Federation. As Bishop Strossmayer says, it is in Austro-Hungary, respecting more and more the autonomy and rights of the different races, that each of them will complete its destiny. The Austrian Government will give Bosnia ways of communication, schools, the means of profiting by its natural riches, and, above all, what has been lacking there since the fall of the Roman Empire, security,—the essential condition of all progress. Bosnia will thus become one of the gems of the Imperial crown, and civilization will strengthen the national spirit, stifled now by the strifes of the different confessions.

There is still another question that every one asks me, and which is worth an answer. Will not Austria, already at Novi-Bazar, advance to Salonica? Certainly, that is a grand dream to realize, and is implied in the very name of Austria, *Oester-Reich*, "Empire of the West." The famous "Westward Ho," the *Drang nach Osten*, forces itself on the Austro-Hungarian policy, whose influence on the Lower Danube and in the Peninsula is becoming predominant. The occupation of Salonica and Macedonia would open the way to Constantinople. The railway, which will soon unite Vienna directly with Stamboul, will be the first link between the two capitals. If the remainder of the Ottoman Empire, whose days are numbered, must be occupied some time by one of the Great Powers, Austria is evidently the best suited to take possession of the inheritance of "the sick man," and she would receive, more than Russia, the support or the agreement of Europe.

All the province of the Peninsula, grouped under the ægis of Austro-Hungary, would form the most magnificent domain that it is possible to imagine. When we know that the occupation of Bosnia was the persistent personal thought

of the Emperor Francis Joseph, who will dare to say that these visions of greatness do not haunt the imperial palace? But, on the other hand, the Hungarians do not desire to increase the preponderance of the Slav element, and the Germans, pressed by the near claims of the Poles, Czechs, and Slovenes, are not anxious to seek for new aggrandisement. The Ministers affirm that they do not wish to pass the limits fixed by the Treaty of Berlin. The former Chancellor, Baron Haymerlé, whom I met as Ambassador in Rome in 1880, would not hear any mention of going to Salonica, and Count Kálnoky speaks in the same way. Still, circumstances are too strong for the human will; when an arm is caught in the gearing, the body follows, whatever one may do. When the railway has opened a direct road to the Ægean Sea for Austrian commerce, as the Imperial army at Novi-Bazar is only two days' march from Mitrovitza, Austria would clearly be unable to permit a prolonged insurrection or a state of anarchy to imperil this way of communication, which will be one of her first interests. If the Porte cannot govern Macedonia in accordance with Article Twenty-three of the Treaty of Berlin, it may be that the day will come when the Austro-Hungarian Government will be compelled to interfere to bring order into this unhappy province, in the same way that it was led to occupy Bosnia-Herzegovina. The *Drang nach Osten* will have overcome all obstacles.

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## CHAPTER V.

### THE CROAT AND SLOVENIAN NATIONALITIES.—SERVIA.

FROM Sarajewo I intended to go straight to Belgrade, through the heart of the country; but I decided to go again through Croatia, to study more closely the national claims hostile to the Magyar supremacy, which had given rise to a tumult and fight in the streets of Agram. When travelling in Austro-Hungary, we are followed everywhere by this question of nationalities.

On leaving Brod I was alone in the carriage, which was taking me to the shores of the Danube, with a Croat landlord, an ardent patriot belonging to the Extreme Left. He explained the grievances of his country against the Hungarian Government with so much vehemence, that it put me on my guard against his exaggerations.

"Croatia," he said, "is not a Hungarian province. It is an independent kingdom, which in 1102 freely chose Koloman, King of Hungary, for its sovereign. In the sixteenth century, in the Diet of Cettigne, the dynasty of Hapsburg, under Charles VI., was proclaimed; after 1848, accepting the new order of things, Croatia submitted to the Emperor Francis Joseph, but not to Hungary. It is the Croats who for three centuries have defended Hungary and Christianity from the Turks. God alone knows all the blood we have shed, all the poverty and suffering we have endured. Therefore we have always remained poor; we

ought, then, to be spared, but we are crushed. In the fifteen years from 1868 to 1882, we have paid 115,000,000 gulden into the Treasury, of which 43,000,000, at most, have been devoted to the interest of our country; the rest has been swallowed up at Pesth. The Magyars are brilliant orators and brave soldiers, but they are bad economists, and great spenders. They mortgage their property, then they are obliged to sell it to the Jews. In the same way they have burdened Trans-Leithania with a debt of a thousand millions of gulden in less than sixteen years. They hand it over to the high European financiers, which strips our peasantry more completely than even the fellahs of Egypt.

“Our agriculturalists, far away from any market, have to sell their produce at a low price, and when they cannot pay the taxes, their goods are seized; thus they fall into despair. Insurrections may be feared at any minute. Here is a Croat proverb that you hear constantly: ‘*Holje je umrieti, nego umirati*’—‘Better be killed at once than die by inches.’ So much suffering weakens even the attachment to the Emperor, which, however, is the hereditary feeling of the nation, that sacrificed 40,000 of her sons, in 1848, to defend the crown of Hapsburg. At present we believe that our sovereign has allied himself with the Hungarians against us. Everything is for them; nothing for us. How much has been spent to regulate and embank the Danube and the Theiss! And look at our rivers;—the Drave, the Save, and the Kulpa are in their natural condition. Look on the map at the railway system: all the lines are made with a view of converging the traffic at Pesth, and turning it away from Croatia. No line traverses our country. It would be enough to have a branch, very easily made, from Brod to Essek, to take the products of Bosnia straight to Agram and Fiume. The shortest line to Pesth from Brod, which we have just left, would have been by Djakovo and Sissek. No; we have to make a long round by Dalja.

“The Emperor has consented to restore the ancient military confines to our kingdom. Excellent measure,

that we all begged for, because happily we are no longer compelled to defend ourselves from the raids of the Turks. But, alas it has cost the poor people dear. They owned magnificent oak forests, bestowed upon them by the Crown in reward for the military service to which they were all subjected. But the Magyars came, and these old trees, bought at the cost of the noblest blood, have been cut down and sold to pay for the Hungarian railways. These forests were said to be worth 100,000,000 gulden. Here was the reserve of the future, and, alas ! all has been destroyed. Give heed to this : Croatia is a small country, of not more than two millions of inhabitants, but it represents a great race. We formed a civilized Christian State at the epoch when the hordes of Magyars were still in the steppes of Asia, by the side of their cousins, the Turks. These Finns will never attain to definite domination over the mass of Aryan peoples amongst whom they settle : they will accept equality, or they will return with the Ottomans to Asia."

"But," I asked, "how are so many abuses possible? You have an autonomous Administration, a National Diet, and even a sort of Viceroy, your Ban of Croatia."

"Chimeras, appearances, a deceitful picture," answered the Croat, still more violently. "The Ban is not the representative of the Emperor, but the creature of the gentlemen of Pesth. He is appointed by the Hungarian Ministry, and his sole mission is to Magyarize us. The Administration, called national, is in the hands of officials who have but one aim—to please the Hungarian governors on whom their position depends. Our Diet does not represent our country, for the elections are not free ; you cannot imagine the ways of intimidation, pressure, and corruption which are set at work to wreck the national candidates. Our press suffers from a more Draconic oppression than in the time of Metternich. Any article in opposition, however moderate, leads to the seizure of the number, and even the type of the printing-press. In the Diet the deputies in opposition are reduced to silence if they attempt to speak freely of the sufferings of the country. The Bos-



nian *rayas* were freer than we are under our professedly constitutional government. What do the Magyars hope for? To crush out our national sentiment and the tongue of our fathers at the moment when the progress of education gives them a new force and brilliance? What madness! To convert our autonomous State into a Hungarian province?

"Undoubtedly, because they have power, they can violate justice and take away our privileges, but in so doing they will arouse implacable hatred in our souls, which will end some day in terrible reprisals. Have they forgotten the Ban Yellatchich marching on Buda in 1848? His statue, in the great square at Agram, shows, with the point of his sword, the way of vengeance that we shall take when the hour has come. They ought to remember that they count only five millions, which will be lost some day amidst the Slav ocean that will overwhelm them."

The question stated by my companion, from the point of view of the uncompromising Croat patriots, is so important that I must say a few words about it. At the moment when the Czechs have just triumphed in Bohemia, is the Jougo-Slav movement destined to a like fate? On this point clearly depends the destiny of Austria, and consequently of the whole of the south-east of our Continent. The *Ausgleich*, the agreement concluded between Hungary and Croatia under the auspices of Deak, is in some measure the repetition of that existing between Cis and Trans-Leithania. Croatia has kept its Diet, which regulates the internal business of the country. The army, customs, and finances are directed by the central Trans-Leithanian Parliament. At the head of the Administration is the Ban, or Governor-General, appointed by the Emperor, on the nomination of the Hungarian Minister. The Ban appoints the heads of departments and the chief officials: he is accountable to the Diet, which has an absolute right of control and discussion. Only there is no representative Ministry because the majority of the Diet cannot overthrow either the Ban or the Ministers.

What have been the results of this compromise? It appears that at least a part of the complaints above spoken of are well founded. Material development has been much less encouraged in Croatia than in Hungary. In Hungary numerous railways have favoured the improvement of agriculture and the rise of prices. The country has therefore been in a state to bear the increase of taxation. In Croatia prices have remained low, and cultivation, less stimulated by demands for exportation, has not made so much progress. The weight of the taxes is therefore more difficult to bear: also, it is beyond doubt that the central Government at Pesth is always trying to increase its authority in Croatia, this is not astonishing. The two *Ausgleichs* have created a government so complicated and so difficult to work, that it must seem intolerable to an administration that desires to move after the fashion of modern States. Croatia forms part of the country belonging to the crown of St. Stephen. It seems, therefore, that the resolutions taken at the centre ought not to clash with the *liberum veto* of Croat autonomy. That does not happen in a federal State, like Switzerland or the United States. But first, Austro-Hungary is not really a federal State; and, in the second place, in a federation the extent of cantonal powers and that of the federal authority being very clearly fixed, the conflicts, so frequent here, are avoided. They should therefore endeavour to imitate an organization like that which gives general satisfaction in the United States.

The representation of Croatia in the Diet at Pesth, and her participation in the common expenses, gives rise to special difficulties. Croatia, which in 1867 would not send delegates to the Emperor's coronation at Pesth, had later consented to be represented in the Hungarian Diet by two members in the Upper Chamber, and twenty-nine in the Lower. When the military confines were incorporated with Croatia she ought to have had fifty-four representatives. It was so managed that she was forced to content herself with forty—a grave injustice, say the patriots.

Another dispute: the share contributed by Croatia to the

common expenses of Trans-Leithania was fixed at 6·44 per cent., Hungary paying the rest, 93·56 per cent. It was agreed that in any case Croatia should receive 2,200,000 gulden for the expenses of her autonomous Government. In 1872 a new agreement was made that Croatia should keep 45 per cent. of her revenue for herself. It followed from this that she has more than 2,200,000 gulden, and that, on the other hand, the remaining 55 per cent. do not cover the 6·44 per cent. of the common expenses, whence result reciprocal recriminations.

The hostility of the two peoples has a deeper cause: their ideal is different and even irreconcilable. The "great Croat idea" is to unite, some day, in one powerful State, all the peoples speaking Croato-Servian, that is, besides Croatia, "Slovenia," Dalmatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, and Servia, which would then counterbalance Hungary in the Empire. The Hungarians cannot accept this prospect, which would break the unity of the crown of St. Stephen, and would prevent further opposition to the Germans and Czechs of Cis-Leithania. They try, therefore, in all ways, to hinder the growth of the spirit of Croat nationality, and, in doing this, they are led to annoyances which irritate, without producing any result useful to themselves. If the Croats could be persuaded that nationality and acquired rights would be thoroughly respected at Pesth, the difficulties inherent in a system of union not easy to work would entirely disappear, or at least would lose their sting.

This troubled situation has given rise to three parties in Croatia: the National Party, the Independent National Party, and the Party of the Extreme Left, which calls itself "*parti du droit*," *Rechtspartei* (Party of the Right). The National Party maintain the *Ausgleich* of 1868 in its letter and its spirit. They defend it both against the central power which is compelled to stretch its authority, and against the reformers who demand more complete autonomy. In the programme of December 27, 1883, it stated that the recent insurrections and the dangers which threaten the

future of the country spring solely from the uncertainties which each side should meet by clearly defined and legally established compromises. The Independent National Party emphasizes distinctly its opposition to centralizing efforts. In a recent speech in the Diet, Dr. Constantin Bojnovitch, one of its most influential deputies, showed plainly how the different views relating to the mission of the Ban were an inevitable cause of conflict.

"At Pesth," he said, "it is wished that the Ban should be a simple Governor, obeying the orders of the Ministry. In our opinion, and according to the law of Jan. 7-10, 1874, he is responsible only to the Emperor and the Diet, and his chief mission is to guard the privileges of our kingdom." The Independent National Party claims the same position for Croatia in regard to Hungary as Hungary holds with respect to Austria. Any decision taken at Pesth ought to be ratified at Agram.

It is evident that such complications would render any government impossible. Even in united countries parliament often performs its duties with great difficulty. If two or three parliaments, inspired by opposing and often hostile sentiments, had to control each other, they would inevitably lead to feebleness and chaos, and consequently to the re-establishment of autocratic government. Increase as far as possible the powers of local government and reduce those of the central government—nothing could be better; but for common affairs there must be a definite decision, taken in a supreme and unique parliament.

The extreme national party, *Rechtspartei*, hopes to destroy the compromise. Like the Hungarian Radicals, who wish to retain no other tie to Austria than that of having the same sovereign, the Extreme Left in Croatia claims also the complete independence of the tripartite kingdom and the personal union only. The more advanced of this division have anti-dynastic, republican, and even socialistic tendencies. The young men willingly join the extreme party, whose leader, Dr. Starcevitich, they take for their prophet. His nephew, David Starcevitich, by his vehement

speeches and remarks in the Diet at Agram, often provokes angry discussions which lead to the suspension of the sittings. The chief of this party is Baron Rukavina. The three parties agree in demanding the reunion of the town of Fiume and of Dalmatia with Croatia, in accordance with historic precedents.

The policy of the Hungarian Ministers can very well be conceived, for it is natural that any Government should endeavour to enforce its own authority; but it is impossible not to acknowledge that it is condemned by its results. The measures adopted to strengthen the central power have provoked universal resistance and deep irritation. Austria, notwithstanding the persevering efforts of a clever and tenacious bureaucracy, has not succeeded in Germanizing the Croats, when national sentiment was still entirely paralysed or non-existent, and notwithstanding that the German language represented a more advanced civilization, a great literature and science, and that it was the bond of union with Western Europe. The Magyars cannot, then, expect to impose their language now that the Croatian nationality has a press, a literature, a theatre, a university, schools of all kinds, and above all when, opening before it, beyond the Danube and the Save, are perspectives of almost unlimited growth and greatness, which are alike supported by historic memories of history and the hopes of the democracy. What will Hungary have gained when she has placed some of her officials in the offices at Agram, and exacted a knowledge of her language, or when she shall have inscribed some Magyar inscriptions on the public monuments of Agram? She will have succeeded only in arousing violent hatred and susceptibility, as has been shown recently, when a bloody struggle was provoked in the streets of Agram merely by the placing of a Hungarian translation alongside of the Croatian on the escutcheons of the State buildings.

M. Tisza, a statesman of the first order, a decided Liberal, a devoted partizan of progress and liberty, attempts, like another eminent Minister, M. Schmerling, to create a

unified government similar to those of France and England. But opposing forces, which are invincible, must be taken into account. Besides, the present time would be badly chosen to attempt to crush them. The decisive concessions made by the Minister Taaffe to the Czechs in Bohemia will enormously strengthen the forces and hopes of the national party in Croatia and other countries of the same race. Besides, and this is a serious consideration, the feudal lords, so powerful at the Court, favour the claims of the Slavs against the Hungarians, because the Magyars represent in their eyes liberalism and democracy. We must never lose sight of a formidable possibility. The governmental union between Austria is so difficult to carry out, that, in time of trial, it might lead to war between the two countries. In this case, how perilous for the Magyars to find their fiercest enemies amongst the countries of the crown of St. Stephen, who would attack them on the rear, in Croatia and Transylvania! Is it not most clearly to their interest rather to make friends with them, by freely giving up all interference in their affairs, and favouring by all means their material and intellectual development?

The predominant influence exerted now by the Hungarians upon the whole empire is an indisputable proof of the superiority of their statesmen. But, as education and comfort spread, and institutions become more democratic, it is increasingly difficult for the minority to suppress the majority. Now, amidst the Slavs, Germans, and Roumanians, the Magyars are a minority, consequently they can do nothing more dangerous than to exasperate those who, by strength of numbers, must sooner or later gain the predominance. The solution also is clearly pointed out. Deak has given the formula, *Gleichberechtigung*, equal rights for all the nationalities, autonomy for each country, as in Switzerland, Norway, and Finland. This method of government, which is grounded on both history and justice, is much easier to apply to Croatia, because it forms a clearly defined State, which has its annals and ancient titles, and which is

not, like Transylvania, inhabited by several races irregularly distributed. Respect for justice and liberty is under all circumstances the best policy.

From Brod to Vukovar, the railway traverses the narrow and long peninsula, which separates the Save from the Danube. The country on both sides is flat, frequently flooded, and very green. First there are large pastures intermixed with small oak woods, then there are arable fields of good land, for the wheat is thick and high. Villages and houses are rare. The population may increase here without alarming the Malthusians.

The road followed by the omnibus, which took me from the station to Vukovar, was delightful. It was shaded by large lime trees and skirted by old branches of the Danube, where the ducks amused themselves merrily amidst the flowering water-lilies. It was Sunday; the peasants, in festival dress, were going to mass and the fair which followed. They almost all came in small carriages, made entirely of wood, very light, and drawn at a fast trot by two fine Hungarian horses of Arab blood. It is a real advantage for the rural population to have teams which allow them to take long drives and excursions—a true enjoyment and wholesome pleasure for holidays. Land labour and heavy transports are the work of oxen only.

It is curious to observe here how the Western fashions have changed and spoiled the national costume. Many men still wear the loose white trousers, girded with an enormous leather belt, the felt cap and braided attila-jacket; but few women retain the beautiful embroidered chlamys of the Greek statues. Most of them now wear dresses of glaring colours, with large pleats, puffing out round the waist, and over the bodice, a woollen handkerchief with bouquets of such startling colours as to distress the eyes. Manifestly “civilization” kills the traditional æsthetic sentiment, and it is a pity. It is not everything to double the number of our fat pigs and of our steam-engines. *Non de solo pane vivit homo*. What is the use of being well off, if we cannot enjoy the beauties offered to us

by nature, art, and dress? When manufacturers cover the country with their ashes, dim with their smoke the blue sky, poison the water of the rivers, and abolish the costumes adapted to the climate and elaborated by the instinctive taste of the races, I cannot share the enthusiasm of the statisticians.

Vukovar is an unpretentious little town, whose clean and well-kept houses are placed on both sides of a long wide street, upon a hill overlooking the Danube. I did not find any ancient buildings here; the Turks have burned everything; but I found an hotel, *Zum Löwen*, where one may eat the delicious Danubian fish, the sterlet, with the Hungarian wine, *villaner*, in a garden of roses, upon tables shaded by acacias in bloom. Some tame storks walked about gravely round us. I had a view of the immense river, whose waters are not blue, as they are said to be in the famous waltz, "*Die blaue Donau*," but very yellow and muddy, as I can certify from having bathed therein.

In Austria and all the neighbouring countries they have, in the arrangement of the places where eating and drinking are provided, admirable taste, which we ought to imitate in our West. In summer the tables are always placed under the trees, so as to give, if possible, a pretty view. In the evening people come there to enjoy the coolness, whilst listening to music. Even in the hotels of the large cities, like Pesth, oleanders and orange trees in pots form a woody screen amidst which one may dine and sup in the open air. A slight detail, perhaps; but is not the ordinary course of life made up of small annoyances, or of small pleasures?

On the table in the dining-room I saw nothing but Slav papers: the *Zastava*, in Cyrillic characters, the *Sriemski Hrvat*, and the *Pozor* of Zagreb, the Croat name of the capital, Agram. The *Agramer-Zeitung* says that in consequence of the recent elections in the Diet of Galicia the Ruthenes will have now only a small number of deputies, fifteen or sixteen, at most, and yet they compose half of the population. It seems that the proprietors, who are Poles, dictate or impose the votes.



In going through the town I saw a savings-bank, which occupied a very fine building. Among the *zadrugas* the savings bank was the large wedding chest, where the woman hoarded the fine linen and embroidered garments that were her own handiwork.

At Vukovar I went on board a steamer with two bridges, of the American type, going down the Danube. It took me to Belgrade in seven hours. It is the most delightful way of travelling. The country opens before your eyes like a series of dissolving views; whilst at the same time you can read or talk. I entered into conversation with a student from Laybach. He was going to visit Bulgaria, to make the acquaintance of his distant brethren, and he spoke about the national movement in his country.

"By the side," he said, "of the claims of the Croats, bitter, warm, even violent, the national movement amongst my countrymen, the Slovenes, is calmer and quieter, but it is not less decided; and it has acquired a strength that the Germans will not long be able to suppress.

"The Slovenes, the first Slav nation settled in Europe, occupied the whole of the vast territory which includes Styria, Croatia, and the whole Balkan Peninsula, except the part inhabited by the Greeks. Later there came from the east, first the Croato-Servians, then Turanians, the Bulgarians, who have been Slavized by mixture with the Slavs already in the country. In the first centuries of the Middle Ages, German Barons conquered and divided our country; German colonists entered it, and thus three-quarters of Styria no longer belong to the Slovenes, but they still form the almost exclusive population of Carniola. In these two provinces, and in Carinthia, their number must approach two millions. The Slovene dialect, the purest of the Jugo-Slav idioms, had become a patois spoken only by the peasants. The tongue of the administration, of literature, of the well-to-do class, summarily of civilization, was German. The whole country seemed definitely Germanized; but in 1835 Louis Gai, by starting the first Croat paper, the *Hrvatske Novine*, gave the signal for awakening to the

national literature, called Illyrian, in the hope now abandoned, that all the Jougo-Slavs would accept this denomination. After 1848, the concession of the electoral right led to the resurrection of the Slovene nationality, thanks to the intellectual activity of a legion of poets, writers, journalists, teachers, and, above all, of ecclesiastics, who saw in the national idiom a barrier against the invasion of Germanic free thought. At present the Slovenes have the majority in the Diet of Carniola. Slovene has become the language of the school, the pulpit, and even of the provincial administration. German is no longer used except in relations with Vienna, and the official documents are published in both languages. In Styria, the Slovenes of the South can send to the Diet a tenth of the deputies, who, under all circumstances, defend the rights of their national tongue. It is admirably represented at the University of Gratz, in the chair of Slav Philology, by M. Krek, author of a very good book, 'Introduction to the History of Slav Literatures.'"

I asked my student what are the views of the national Slovene party for the future. Do they desire the constitution of a separate province within the boundaries limited by the language? Do they aspire to reunion with Croatia? Do they hope for the realization of the great Jougo-Slav ideal under the form of a federation, including Slovenes, Croats, Servians, and Bulgarians? Will they accept Panslavism?

"Panslavism," answered my companion, "is a word devoid of sense, since the Slavs see that they may preserve their nationality amidst the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The Panslavic aspirations aroused by the Ethnographic Congress in Moscow, 1868, are not quite obliterated. Yes, certainly, we hope that some day a great Jougo-Slav federation will extend from Constantinople to Laybach, and from the Save to the Ægean Sea. That is our ideal, and each branch of our race must prepare for its realization. In the meantime we should see with pleasure the reunion of Slovenia with Croatia, for the language spoken in both

countries is almost the same. But the essential thing is to strengthen the national sentiment by making our language more and more a means of civilization and high culture. All increase of enlightenment is a guarantee of our future."

The Danube truly gives the impression of a great river. But what a contrast to the Rhine! Whilst the river which washes Mannheim, Mayence, Coblenz, and Cologne, with its lateral railways and its innumerable boats of all shapes, thoroughly realizes the idea of a "moving road," transporting unnumbered masses of people and merchandise, the magnificent Danube flows through solitudes, and appears to be used only to turn the wheels of the flour mills set on rafts. Whence this difference? It is because the Rhine flows towards the West, and leads to the markets of Holland and England, whilst the Danube bears its waters to the Black Sea—that is, towards the countries not yet delivered from the curse of Turkish occupation. Between Vukovar and Semlin the left bank on the Hungarian side is low, half-covered with water, almost always bordered with willows and poplars; whilst on the right bank, on the Slavonian side, the heights of Fiska-Gora form high steep banks, whose red earth is lost to sight under a continuous wood of oaks and beeches. On arriving at Belgrade the traveller is subjected to a vexatious formality, the demand for passports, abolished everywhere else, even in these days of Nihilists. Is it to save Russia from the humiliation of hearing it said that she is the only one to retain this old-fashioned and useless demand? The reflection which occurs at once to the mind is not flattering to Servia.

I went to the Grand Hotel, formerly built by Prince Michael. It is an immense building, where the rooms have the proportions of the reception halls in the Palace of the Doges. When I came here in 1867 I was almost alone; now the hotel was full, and I could hardly find a place at the little tables where they dine separately, as in Austria. That alone shows how much everything is changed. The town is also transformed. A large street runs along the crest of the hill between the Danube and the Save, and

leads to the citadel, on a steep promontory, overlooking the river. It is now ornamented on both sides with tall houses two or three stories high, having shops on the first floor, where, behind the large window-panes, exactly the same goods as we have at home are exhibited—hardware, stuffs of all kinds, hats, antiquities, ready-made clothes, boots and shoes, photographs, books, and papers. The little low shops and the Turkish cafés had disappeared. Nothing any longer recalled the East; one might think oneself in Austria.

At the point where the street widens and becomes a boulevard planted with a double row of trees, is placed an equestrian statue of Prince Michael, whose name and portrait are found everywhere throughout the country; and a theatre in the Italian style, of which the classic outline is not wanting in grace. A grant of £1,600 serves to support a company, and sometimes to put on the stage national plays; but more frequently Servian translations of French and German works.

The glacis of the fortress has been made into a public garden, where, on summer evenings, the inhabitants walk about to the music of a military band, contemplating the magnificent panorama unrolled at the foot of these heights. We can see, like a lake, the confluence of the two great rivers: here, the Save coming from the west; there, the Danube descending eastward towards the wild gorges of Basiasch, and, to the north, the half-submerged plains of Hungary, lost at the horizon, in infinite distance. It was upon this slope that the Turks impaled their victims. What horrible recollections, what tales of massacre and tortures returned to my memory! I visited the citadel in 1867, when the Ottoman troops had just evacuated it, and I picked up there small square pieces of paper on which were written three Arabic words: "O Simeon, fighting (against the infidels)." Vain protest of Islamism, which since then has continued to retreat.

The odious bombardment of 1862 had decided Europe to interfere to put an end to an intolerable situation. The

old Turkish quarter was completely deserted, all the inhabitants had fled, leaving their houses; now they have been pulled down, and the Spanish Jews have built new ones. There remain but few traces of the Mussulman domination: some fountains with Turkish inscriptions and a mosque which is in decay. Formerly there were many mosques, and the treaty of evacuation stipulated that they should be respected; but as they are never repaired, time does its work; they crumble away, soon there will not be one left. This is a pity. The Servian Government ought to preserve one as a remembrance of a dramatic past, and as an architectural ornament. See how rapidly the Ottoman domination narrows! Quite recently it extended over the whole right bank of the Danube and of the Save, and nominally as far as Roumania, in the very heart of Europe; now it is expelled beyond the Balkans, where it wields only a nominal authority.

Servia supports three complete gymnasiums, and twenty "half-schools," where only some branches are taught; it devotes about half a million of francs to this purpose, which is plenty. There are 620 scholars in the Belgrade gymnasium, and 357 in that of Kragoujevat, which proves that these people already feel a desire to educate their children.

In 1883 there were, in the kingdom including the new provinces, 618 schools, with 821 teachers, male and female, and 36,314 scholars of both sexes. For a population of 1,750,000, that gives only 1 scholar to 48 people, or 2 per cent., which is a very small proportion.

There are two towns in the country having more than 20,000 inhabitants, Belgrade and Nisch; 8 of from 5,000 to 10,000 and 43 from 2,000 to 5,000, besides 930 small towns and villages of from 500 to 2,000 inhabitants, and 1,270 small hamlets of 200 to 500 inhabitants. As there are only 618 schools, it follows that there are even large villages which have not one yet. More has been done relatively for middle-class education, and it is a mistake: thus are multiplied the seekers for office. In an agricultural and

democratic country like Serbia, they should follow the example of Switzerland and educate the cultivator, for he is the real producer of wealth. The progressist ministry has understood this. M. Novakovitch has obtained the recent law from the Skoupchtina, which is as complete and energetic as one can desire. It is copied from the scholastic legislation of the States which are the most advanced in this respect, Saxony and the Scandinavian countries. Nothing is omitted; compulsory education for six years, from seven to thirteen, plus two complementary years; each scholastic commune is obliged to provide the buildings, class materials, books, suitable salary for the teacher, with house and garden of an acre and a half; firewood and a retiring pension beginning at 40 per cent. of his stipend after twenty years of work, and rising by an increase of 2 per cent. for each supplementary year up to the whole salary; annual inspection of all schools; examination of scholars; a school-fund and special scholastic tax payable by all ratepayers. The Minister of Education appoints the teachers, and only authorizes the opening of private schools upon very severe conditions. If Serbia should ever put such a law in force in all its enactments she may be proud of it, but it would require a great deal of money. The State ought, as in the United States, to give up a large part of the land revenue; it would be the best use that could be made of it.

The "progressist" ministry has recently adopted a complete reorganization of the army, due to General Nikolitch. It will give a force of about 17,000 men in time of peace and of 80,000 in time of war. In 1883 the military expenses rose to 10,305,326 francs. Serbia has made great sacrifices for her armament; recently she bought 100,000 Mauser-Milovanovitch guns at the cost of nearly £3 each; cannons of the De Bange type were also ordered, which are said to have been very satisfactory when tried at Belgrade, but had not yet all arrived in the last war. Service is obligatory for all able-bodied men to the age of 50; in the first ban, from 20 to 30; in the second, from 30 to 37; in

the third, from 39 to 50. In the permanent staff the term of service is two years.

Throughout the East, religious questions are of great importance, because they are intimately connected with rivalries of race, and consequently with political differences. I met in the hotel a Roumain landowner from Bessarabia, who gave me some details of the confessional and ethnical struggles of which his country is the theatre. The great majority of the population is Ruthene and Roumain, and consequently professes the orthodox Greek faith; but for some time the Poles, all Catholics, who hold land in Bessarabia, and the Jesuits who have settled there, have established an active propaganda. The former Catholic Archbishop of Varsovia Felinski, returned from his exile in Siberia, has fixed himself at Czernowitz, which is the centre of Ultramontane activity. An Ursuline convent attempts to make conversions by educating young girls. The Poles of Galicia dream of annexing Bessarabia some time, and to attain this they endeavour, by degrees, to Polonize and catholicize the peoples of the Oriental Church. The Orthodox Archbishop, Morariu Andriewitch, has recently issued a charge complaining keenly of these intrigues, which, he says, threaten the peace and liberty of conscience of his flock. This prelate is a very great personage. He occupies a large palace which crowns Czernowitz, of which it is the most beautiful building; the bright colours of its frescoes and its gilded ornaments recall the splendours of Byzantium. It is evidently to the interest of Austria to restrain the intrigues of the Jesuit converters, which irritate the people. If the latter thought that the government in the hands of the Ultramontanes was hostile to them, they would turn their eyes towards Russia.

It gave me great pleasure to find here our Minister, my colleague at the Académie de Bruxelles, M. Emile de Borchgrave, who has written a learned treatise on the Flemish and Saxon colonies of Transylvania, and an excellent book upon Servia, which has greatly helped me in my researches, a.

have also the reports of Mr. Alexander Mason, Secretary to the English Legation.

M. de Borchgrave took me to the king. I had often seen him when he was studying in Paris, with my former master, François Huet. He was then a handsome lad of twelve, already very proud of his country. "Look," he said to me one day, bringing me a paper in which Serbia was praised, "read this! It cannot now be said that we are barbarians." After eighteen years, I found, instead of the young collegian, a superb cavalier, very tall and strong, who is called Milan I., King of Serbia. What a change in all ways! He retains the most affectionate remembrance of France and of M. and Mme. Huet, who were like father and mother to him. It was in 1868 that he was suddenly called to succeed his cousin, Prince Michael, assassinated in the park of Topchidera.

It was in this visit to the palace that I made acquaintance with an Oriental custom that the Servians still retain. A servant brought, upon a silver tray, a cup containing preserve of roses, and glasses of water. Each took a spoonful of preserve and some sips of water: the communion of hospitality was accomplished. The king was much occupied with his budget, which he knew in all its details. He was satisfied to have seen the receipts of £520,000 in 1868, the year he entered upon his authority, change to £1,360,000 in 1883. "And we shall not stop there," he added, "for the taxes are badly distributed; they might bring double returns without burdening the ratepayers."

I ventured to remark that the continually increasing budget is a disease characteristic of all modern States; one however that must be grappled with, or it may become mortal.

The fact is that the financial system in Serbia is still very primitive. The direct taxation is fixed, not upon the land, but upon each ratepayer, *porezka glava*. The maximum of this tax is, per head, in villages, 15 thalers of Maria-Theresa, worth 3s. 10d. each, 30 thalers for the towns, and 60 for Belgrade; 6 thalers, or about £1 4s.,



is the medium rate, of which 12s. is capitation, and the other twelve a tax on the supposed fortune. There are a great many classes, and each person is placed in one, according to his income. Workmen pay an annual capitation, which varies from 2s. to 8s. 8d., according to their wages. The direct tax is received for the benefit of the State by the Commune, which divides it amongst the inhabitants. In 1883 it returned about twelve million dinars (dinar=1 franc=10d.). The indirect taxes have returned 2 millions; estates, 2 millions; various tax stamps, licenses, another 2 millions. The communes may also receive a tax on the same basis as the personal tax for the benefit of the State, but the amount may not exceed a quarter of the State tax in the villages, a third in the towns, half in Belgrade.

I transcribe here the details of the yearly taxes of an inhabitant of Belgrade belonging to the eleventh class of ratepayers (there are forty classes). Direct tax to the State—30 dinars, 32 cents; schools, 2 dinars, 50 cents; hospitals, 1 dinar, 60 cents; the clergy, 2 dinars; the commune, 13 dinars, 48 cents.; the poor 1.90; the armament, 1 dinar; the disabled, 2 dinars; for the liquidation of the national debt, 4 dinars. Total, 58 dinars, 80 cents.

This reminds one of the apothecary's bill in Molière's "*Malade Imaginaire*;" but it is of great advantage that every one knows for what he is paying. It is the same in England, where they pay a certain number of pence per pound sterling of income for schools, roads, lights, &c. Oversight is easier, and the ratepayer is more encouraged to exert it than with our lump payments in Belgium and in France, forming a heap whence our ministers and our parliaments draw supplies, but which nobody can understand, whilst the Belgrade statement is intelligible to a child.

Everything which restrains the folly of public expenses is excellent; but is this the way to attain it? Certainly in Servia it would be better to introduce a land-tax based upon a cadaster, showing the extent, quality, and revenue

of each lot; only it is to be feared that advantage might be taken of it to increase expenses, and it is always the army which would consume unproductively all that would be taken away from the cultivators.

The king asked me to breakfast, to go afterwards and join in a village fête. The Konak, the palace of Prince Michael is a villa of one story, divided from the street by palissades and a garden which stretches at the back into a shady park. The furniture, free from ostentatious luxury, recalls that of the country house of an English lord. Queen Nathalie is the daughter of the Russian Colonel, Kechko, a boyar of Bessarabia, and of the Roumain Princess Stourdza: she is thus the cousin of King Milan. She is descended from the old Provençal family of the Baulx, Balsa in Italian and Roumain. Several knights of the family of Baulx accompanied Charles of Anjou when he conquered Naples; others came to settle in Servia at the time when Helen of Courtenay was queen. Adelais, Laurette, and Phanette des Baulx were sung by the Troubadours, and the old castle of Baulx may still be seen near Arles.

The queen's beauty made a sensation during her recent visit to Florence, her birthplace; tall, slight, with the mien of a goddess upon clouds, a warm dazzling complexion, and large velvet Wallachian eyes. The only child, Prince Alexander, who came in before we went to table, was seven years old. He is full of life, and resembles his parents, in which he has no cause of complaint. What will be his destiny? Will he become the new Dushan of the Servian Empire? Is it at Constantinople that he will one day put on his head the crown of the ancient Czars? In these countries of fermentation and transformation, the most audacious dreams occur naturally to the mind.

In the meantime, alongside of the existing Konak, a large palace with pretentious domes is being built, that has mistakenly been brought forward to the line of the boulevard itself. The breakfast was elegantly served, and

came from the hands of a good cook. The *menu* was surmounted with the royal arms and the motto of Servia : *Tempus et meum jus*. Here is the *menu* :—Soup ; timbales of macaroni, *à la Lucullus* ; sterletons en matelote ; ribs of beef with truffles ; crayfish of Laibach ; French fowls ; asparagus *à la polonaise* ; green peas ; iced cream with strawberries.

I may perhaps be reproached with a resemblance to that diplomatist who had several richly bound volumes of *Memoirs* on his table, which contained only the *menus* of the dinners he had been to. But it is curious to know, in each country, what men eat, from the peasant in his cottage to the prince beneath his gilded ceilings ; for it gives an idea of the national welfare and local resources. Besides, is it not the aim of all economic activity to find food for every one ? Certainly, Brillat-Savarin, who was a man of sense, would have pardoned me.

After having coffee we started for the village where the *Slava* was being celebrated. It was beyond the Topchidera Park, not far from the Save. The road was not in very good condition, but our Hungarian horses drew us at a rapid trot. Lieutenant-Colonel Franassovitch, the king's first aide-de-camp, explained to me what the *Slava* is. Each family, as each village, has its *Slava* ; it is the feast of its patron saint. It lasts several days ; it is an ancient custom, going back to the time when the patriarchal family lived together under the same roof ; yet to-day it is celebrated everywhere, even in the towns. The house is decorated with branches and flowers, the nearest relations meet at a banquet, presided over by the head of the family. A loaf made of the finest wheaten flour is set in the centre of the table : a cross is hollowed in it, in the middle of which is fixed a candlestick with three branches, lighted in honour of the Trinity. The pope pronounces a prayer and calls for the benediction of God upon the whole family. At dessert, toasts and songs follow one another, and the Servians excel in them. When joining in a *Slava* or a death-wake we see how strong the family feeling still is

here. It is one of the characteristics of all primitive society, where the clan, the *genos*, is the social cell, in which human life is preserved and developed.

The village to which we came is only a few low houses, thatched and hidden in orchards of large plum trees with violet fruit. No church, the school being in the centre. A carpet had been spread on the verandah, and chairs were set for their Majesties and their suite. The king and queen arrived in a light victoria, preceded by a guard of hussars, wearing the charming Hungarian uniform. The peasants assembled in crowds, shouting *Zivio*, which means *vivat*. I felt deeply the contrast between the ancient customs and those of the West that are being rapidly introduced. The *préfet* and the *sous-préfet*, in black coat and white tie, advanced towards the king and saluted him with respect, stiff and formal as Western officials. The mayor, *presednik*, with his beautiful dress—brown vest braided with black, wide trousers, and Albanian leggings—approached, and with perfect ease addressed a short speech to the king, speaking to him as “thou,” according to traditional usage. It is the democracy of the age of Milosch.

When we had taken our places upon the reserved arm-chairs, amidst the branches and flowers which decorated the school buildings, one of the most characteristic ceremonies commenced. The peasant women advanced in a long line towards the queen, and, each in turn, gave her a resounding kiss on both cheeks, which she conscientiously returned. Curious picture! Queen Nathalie wore a bewitching *costume de campagne*, which set off the elegance of her figure—a robe of blue foulard with white spots, and a straw hat trimmed with velvet to match. The countrywomen were clad in a tunic embroidered in wools of startling colours, with an apron covered with Arabesque in very bright, and yet harmonious, colouring; on the head a red handkerchief or flowers and sequins; around the neck and waist heavy strings of gold and silver pieces. All these stuffs and embroideries are the work of their own hands.

About the queen, all the distinctions of modern refinement; about the peasants, ideas, beliefs, customs, products of home industry, everything the personification of primitive civilization.

One of the women, very old, badly dressed, little washed, and smelling horribly of garlic, embraced the queen four or five times, and addressed her in an interminable discourse.

The king interrupted her: "Come, come, what is it?"

"My only son was killed in the last war," she answered; "I have therefore a right to a pension, and I do not get it."

"*Presidnik*," said the king, addressing the mayor, who remained by his side, "this is thy business, what hast thou to say?"

"I say that this woman is comfortably off, and that therefore she has no right to the pension."

"What!" answered the old lady; "but So-and-so of the neighbouring village has more land than I, and she has a pension."

"I have not to judge the decisions of others," said the mayor; "but I do my duty, I guard the interests of my ratepayers."

"We will inquire into that," replied the king. "Colonel Franassovitch, be kind enough to make a note of it."

I picture to myself that it was thus that St. Louis judged beneath his oak-tree. I had caught the ancient patriarchal sovereignty in the very act.

The king gave me some particulars about the communal organization in Servia. The commune, *opchtina*, enjoys complete autonomy within the limits fixed by the law. The inhabitants appoint the mayor and town council without any interference from the central authority. The number of members forming the town council depends upon the population of the commune; but for any decision there must be at least three councillors. They fix authoritatively the budget of receipts and expenses. This is the primitive commune, such as we still find it in Switzerland, in Norway,

in the American "township," and as it existed everywhere before the central power came to restrict its capabilities.

Here is another survival of the ancient liberties; justice, in its first stages, is wholly communal. The mayor with two assistants, elected for a year, form a tribunal which decides all disputes up to the sum of 200 dinars, and which judges, in penal matters, the simple police cases. An appeal may be made from the decisions of this tribunal to a commission of five members, elected every three months. A recent law has rather limited the competency of this village tribunal. The town councils also choose the juries who take part in the Assize Court in judging the accused of their commune. In the Middle Ages, throughout the West, the town aldermen also exercised judicial functions.

In Servia there is, above the local courts, a Court of the First Instance for the department, a Court of Appeal, and a "Cour de Cassation." This organization is copied from France. To promote uniformity they desire to extend the powers of the central authority, to the detriment of the local autonomy. This is a retrograde movement, for, in our West, we have agreed to declare the advantages of decentralization, and if we could have the commune, as in the United States, we should rejoice.

I noticed near the school a wooden erection of strange shape; it was a basketwork granary, very long, raised a metre above the ground on stakes, and covered with a thick roof of thatch. "There," said the king, "is one of our stores—for war time. Yet another of our old customs. Each commune is bound to have such a granary, and each head of a family must bring to it 150 *okas*, or about 182 kilogrammes, of maize or wheat every year. In ordinary times we have in this way from 60 to 70 millions of kilogrammes of wheat to distribute to the inhabitants in case of famine, or when the men have to take the field."

But the *kolo* is beginning; the *kolo* (Bulgarian, *koro*; Greek, *choros*) is the national dance of the Slavs. An immense circle is formed, of men and women alternately;

they take hold of one another by the hand or the waist; in the centre the *Tziggany* play the national airs. The circle turns slowly, moving in curves; the step consists of small standing jumps, without animation. The music is soothing, almost melancholy, never spirited. How different from the Hungarian *tsardas*, with their entrancing outbursts, their furious passion! But the colours of the picture are of marvellous brightness. The hussars of the royal escort have gone to take their places in the line, which turns, turns ever; then joined in the young *Tsiganes* girls, clad in red and yellow stuffs. All the dancers and the crowds which surround them wear the national costume, so picturesque, so bright in colour. Two old oaks threw their shade upon the large playground. I saw little drinking, save of water, and no drunken man. No unmannerly screams: the festivity was carried on with perfect decorum. All these peasants have great natural distinction and the dignity of free men. There was nothing vulgar. I have never seen a representation of old customs where everything was so completely of local colour.

No country is more deserving of being called a democracy than Servia. The Turkish *Beys* having been killed or driven away during the long Wars of Independence, the Servian peasants found themselves absolute owners of the lands which they occupied, without any one above them. Here, then, there are neither great nor aristocratic land-owners. Each family owns the ground it tills, and, with the most imperfect methods of agriculture, draws from it a livelihood. The proletariat was formerly unknown, thanks to the *zadrugas* or family communities, which, as we have seen, subsisted upon an inalienable fund, inheritance in mainmort, and then—thanks to an excellent law which forbade the sale of the house even for the benefit of creditors—of about six acres of land, of horse, ox, and agricultural implements necessary for its cultivation.

In the country there are very few day labourers, and, like the Yankee, no Servian will consent to be a household servant; even the cooks and men-servants come from Croatia,

Hungary, and Austria. When a cultivator is not able, with the help of his family, to cut his hay or wheat, he turns to his neighbours, who come and give him a helping hand ; and the close of the harvest is a festival. It is called the *moba*. No wages, service for service, on condition of return. Is it not the golden age ? Unhappily, these proud Servians, who, before the recent disarmament, always went about armed, are very poor agriculturists. Their heavy plough, all of wood, with a small iron edge to the share, drawn by four oxen, tears the soil, but does not turn it. The maize is succeeded by wheat or rye, then follows a fallow time for several years. Scarcely a third of the ground is under cultivation. The last published statistics, those of 1869, give 360,000 ratepayers ; and to put in motion 79,517 ploughs, large and small, *valitzas*, only 13,680 draught-horses, and 307,516 oxen. It is lamentably insufficient. However, as the population is thin—1,820,000 people to 4,900,000 hectares, or  $2\frac{1}{2}$  hectares each—it follows that food is not wanting, and they can also export. Statistics tell us that Servia sends abroad an average of £1,200,000 worth of cattle and animal products, and £160,000 to £200,000 worth of fruits, grain, and wine.

Here are some figures showing how the land is employed, and what are the agricultural riches of the country. Half of the territory, 2,400,000 hectares (1 hect.=2·47 acres), is mountain and forest ; 800,000 hectares are cultivated ground, and 430,000 hectares are meadow land ; the surplus is indefinite. Maize takes up 470,000 hectares of the arable land ; rye, wheat, and other corn, 300,000 hectares ; the rest is given to vines, potatoes, tobacco, hemp, &c. Maize is here, as throughout the East, the principal crop. It is estimated that an average harvest gives 448,327 tons of maize, 250,000 of wheat, 32,000 of oats, and 80,000 for the other grains.

Here is the percentage in produce which is attributed to each cereal :—Maize, 52·35 ; wheat, 27·20 ; barley, 6·30 ; oats, 6·60 ; rye, 3·90 ; spelt, 3 ; millet, 0·65. In the provinces of Podrigna, Pojarevatz and Tchoupria, maize forms



65-100ths of the whole produce. The following figures show the wealth in cattle : 826,550 horned animals, 122,500 horses, 3,620,750 sheep, and 1,067,940 pigs.

Statisticians have remarked that in improving countries, where the population increases, the number of cattle diminishes, not absolutely, but in proportion to the number of people, which is to be regretted, for it follows that the proportion of animal food becomes less.

If we consider the ancient Servian provinces—without the districts annexed by the Treaty of Berlin, which have 280,000 inhabitants—we find that the population increased to 1,000,000 in 1859, to 1,215,576 in 1866, and to 1,516,660 in 1882. The annual increase is, then, about 2 per cent., and consequently the population doubles in 50 years, as in England and Prussia. At the same time, from 1859 to 1882, the number of horned animals fell from 801,296 to 709,000, that of horses from 139,801 to 118,500, that of pigs from 1,772,011 to 958,440. The sheep, only, had a little increased in number, from 2,385,458 to 2,832,500. This seems the habitual result of what we call the progress of civilization. In proportion as the population increases, it is compelled more and more to be content with a vegetable diet. According to Tacitus, the German was fed chiefly on meat and dairy produce ; whilst the modern German and the Fleming in the country eats only potatoes and rye bread. The relation between the number of beasts and that of the population is still, however, much more satisfactory than in our Western countries ; for in reducing the number of domestic animals into heads of large beasts, we get a total of 1,400,000 for 1,516,660 people, which is almost one each. The proportion is about the same in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which, with 2 millions of hectares more land, has only 1,336,091 inhabitants instead of 1,820,000. We must go to newly-occupied countries, like Australia and the United States, to find such a favourable proportion. We may conclude that the Servians generally eat meat at one of their meals when it is not a fast-day, of which they have more than 150

in the year. Then, they are contented with maize and beans.

The pig has been to Serbia, like the herring to Holland, the chief source of her commercial wealth and the cause of her freedom. The heroes of the war of Dutch Independence, the Gueux of the sea, who, in the sixteenth century, dispersed the fleet of Philip II., were herring fishers; and here, Milosch and his comrades were breeders and sellers of pigs. Innumerable herds of these animals, almost wild, fatten in the glades of the vast forests of the central region, the Schoumadia. They were brought in droves towards the Save and Danube, and sold for consumption in Austria and Hungary. Now the oak forests are devastated, and American bacon is used everywhere. Still, in 1881, 325,000 pigs, fat and lean, were exported. The average size of the farms is ten to thirteen acres, with rights on the meadows and forests of the Commune or State. Certain districts in Serbia are renowned for their domestic animals; the plains of Koloubara and Lower Morava for their horses; Resavska for its oxen; Schoumadia for its pigs; Krivoviv, Visotchka, Pirot, and Labska for sheep.

I paid some visits: first to M. Pirotchanatz, the President of the Council, who has wonderful intelligence and enthusiasm, and who takes a wide view of the situation of Europe and that of his own country; then to the Minister of Finance, M. Chedomille Mijatovitch, with whom I spent the evening. He has studied political economy in Switzerland; he is a member of the Cobden Club, and has married an Englishwoman, who has published, in her own language, a history of Serbia, Servian legends and poems relating to the battle of Kossovo. M. Mijatovitch speaks French not less well than English. He was engaged just then with the law relating to a national bank. The same day I had been present, in the room of the Skoupchtina, at a meeting of the merchants of Belgrade and other principal towns, who had discussed the rules of the future bank. I could only think them

excellent, because they were the reproduction of those of our Belgian National Bank, which is considered a model establishment of this kind. I criticized sharply, however, an article which allowed advances to be made to industrial enterprises. There is a real danger in that. The mission of maintaining the fiduciary circulation intact is so delicate, sometimes so difficult, that it ought not to be complicated by using the capital of the bank in businesses which are always uncertain. Besides, as the establishment is under the management of the State, political influences may lead to bad investments. The Belgian law forbids even our National Bank to give interest on deposits, so that it may not risk losing them in seeking to place them advantageously. The National Bank of Servia works now, but still not with a very remarkable success.

The principal institution of credit in Servia is the *Ouprava Fondava*, or landed credit, founded in 1862, re-organized in 1881. It receives the deposits of public institutions, pensions, savings banks, and makes advances upon mortgages at 6 per cent., with 2 per cent. redemption during twenty-three years and six months. The total of the deposits was only 7,824,737 dinars (£313,789) in 1863; it had risen to 28,219,465 dinars (£1,128,778) in 1882.

By a law of 1871, savings banks were established by the State in the five chief places of the department—Smederevo, Krouchevatz, Tchatchak, Ougitza, and Kragoujevatz. Besides the amount of 150,000 ducats (1,962,500 dinars) advanced by the State, these banks received in deposit the capital of churches, of communes, of widows and orphans, which had been entrusted to the *Ouprava Fondava*. The interest paid is 5 per cent., and only 3 per cent. exigible at the first demand.

The different handicrafts, formed by the association of workmen, and the body of patrons, have also each a bank for assistance and even advances. In 1881 Belgrade counted 30 handicrafts, possessing altogether a capital of 174,318 dinars (£6,976); Tchoupria, 37 crafts, owning 74,834 dinars (£2,993); Pojarévatz, 28 handicrafts, owning

69,509 dinars (£2,780); Nisch, 29 handicrafts, owning 27,248 dinars (£1,089).

We touched on yet another point. The statesmen whom I met here, like those of most young countries, eagerly desire to see a home development of manufacturing industries. For this end, a special law was passed in 1873 to permit the Government to grant an exclusive monopoly for fifteen years to industrial enterprises established in Servia, and also all kinds of favours: lands, wood, exemption from import tax on machinery. Some concessions of monopoly were asked for, but without leading to anything. The only successful one is a large factory of cloth, established at Parachina by a Moravian house. But the State is compelled to take all the cloth required for the army, paying 10 per cent. more for it than the lower price offered by other makers. This is a heavy charge on the ratepayers—and who profits by it? No one, not even the workmen, who receive extremely low wages—1 dinar to 40 cents for women, 1 dinar 50 cents to 2 dinars for men. All monopoly is a barrier to progress, and it has been abolished wherever it was possible. It is to be admitted only when it brings an income to the Treasury, like salt, tobacco, or matches; but a monopoly which absorbs the money of the State, and which injures all the consumers, is absurd and iniquitous.

In a country where every man is a landowner, and cultivates his own ground, the time for manufacturing industries has not yet come; the “proletariat” is wanting to provide workmanship made cheap by competition. The Servian Government, instead of rejoicing in this happy situation, which allows every one to lead a healthy country life, and to procure, by agricultural labour, a satisfactory and comfortable position, is endeavouring by means of protection and privileges to set up a factitious industry, contrary to nature, and still more exposed than our own to the severe crises from which we suffer periodically. What an error! It comes from the idea that a country which lacks great manufactures is behindhand and barbarous.

In Italy there is the same mistake. Do they see factory chimneys spring up, they are delighted; it is the image of Western civilization. Who will benefit by the erection of these establishments? Neither the State, which grants them all kinds of favours; nor the public, shorn by the monopolies; nor, above all, the workmen, taken from the fields and crowded together in workshops. Some foreign speculators will perhaps enrich themselves at the cost of Servia, and will spend elsewhere the clear product of their privileged gains.

As the soil, the chief source of wealth, is in the hands of those who till it, there are no rented farms, and therefore no rent-receiving idle class, such as congregate in towns. Belgrade has only 36,000 inhabitants, and Nisch 25,000. The whole town population, including the small ones, does not go beyond 200,000 souls. There is no aristocracy, and not much *bourgeoisie*, which is made up of merchants, shopkeepers, and owners of houses. But, on the other hand, there is no pauperism; the old, infirm, and sick are maintained by their neighbours, and, in the towns, by the commune or the workmen's associations. Almost everything that is required by the country people (who form nine-tenths of the population), clothes, furniture, utensils, agricultural implements, is manufactured on the spot by home industries. Is it so urgent to kill these by a subsidized competition, which will replace the good strong woollen stuffs, and the durable embroidered linen tunics, so picturesque and appropriate to the climate, by low-priced calicoes, in imitation of those of Austria and Germany? Up to the present time, then, everything is wanting to favour the growth of manufactures—town markets, customers, and skilled labour. They would also encounter another obstacle, resulting, not from natural conditions, but from special combinations of the custom-house duties; for Austria caused exceptional advantages to be granted to her in the Treaty of Commerce of 1881.

To facilitate exchanges between the populations on both sides of the frontier within a certain zone, Austria has

adopted a specially favourable tariff called *Grenzverkehr-tarif*,\* by mutual consent and under reciprocal conditions, with some neighbouring States, notably Italy and Roumania.

In exchange Serbia has obtained special exemption for her oxen and bulls, 4 florins per head, and pigs 1s. 3d. per head.

The special tariff arranged with Serbia reduces the duties on certain goods to half "the most favoured nations'" duty, and, instead of limiting the zone to which these facilities are given, the Austro-Servian Treaty of 1881 grants them to the products which are directly imported by free traffic from the custom-house territory of the Austro-Hungarian kingdom by the common frontier. The customs' dues, generally low already, are so much reduced that for the Servian manufacturers that attempt to start success is impossible, or is soon destroyed by competition. It is this which has nullified most of the monopolies granted in virtue of the law of 1873. The Servian patriots are indignant with what they call commercial

\* The goods which, by special favour, in virtue of the frontier traffic (*Grenzverkehr*) between Serbia and the custom-house district of Austro-Hungary, pay only half the dues imposed on "the most favoured nation," are these:—

1. Thick papers and cardboards of all kinds. The lightest duty on other nations, 2s. 6d. per 100 kilogrammes. Austro-Hungary, 1s. 8d.
2. Unpolished stones, whetstones, and lithographic stones. Ordinary duty, 1s. 3d. per 100 kilogrammes. Austro-Hungary, 7½d.
3. Common pottery, glazed or unglazed earthenware, stoneware pipes, tiles for the stove, and flooring. Ordinary duty, 2s. 6d. per 100 kilogrammes. Austro-Hungary, 10d.
4. Glass for windows, &c., squares of cast glass for roofing or pavements. Ordinary duty, 2s. 6d. per 100 kilogrammes. Austro-Hungary, 1s. 3d.
5. Hollow glass ware, white. Ordinary duty, 4s. 2d. per 100 kilogrammes. Austro-Hungary, 2s. 1d.
6. Raw iron, cast iron in pigs and ingots, wrought iron and steel in ingots and blooms, old iron, scrap iron and steel. Ordinary duty, 8d. per 100 kilogrammes. Austro-Hungary, 4d.
7. Iron and steel in rods, strips, square, flat, or round, bars, angle and channel iron and steel of all kinds, iron and steel plates. Ordinary duty, 2s. 6d. per 100 kilogrammes. Austro-Hungary, 10d. Tools and agricultural implements come under this head.

slavery to Austria. Other nations have the right to complain of this exorbitant premium granted to a State already so favoured by its proximity. With the whole foreign trade of Servia, amounting, in 1879, to £3,440,000 for exports and imports, the exchanges with Austria came to £2,600,000. But, for myself, I see an advantage to the Servians: it saves them from being shut up in unhealthy workshops, and made a profit of by privileged manufacturers.

A recent report of the Consul of Austro-Hungary at Belgrade states plainly that Servia is drawn into the commercial orbit of her powerful neighbour. "Servia," said M. de Wysocki, "is by her situation almost entirely attached to Austro-Hungary, and will long be so. Servia has three great means of communication upon the northern frontier, the Danube, the Save, and the *Staatsbahn*, which impose the necessity of Austro-Hungary as an outlet, and as a source of importation." The truth of this statement is confirmed by the statistics of the foreign trade of Servia. Here is the summary for 1880. Imports, £2,363,854; exports, £1,267,422; transit, £60,195. Total, £3,691,471. Imports from Austro-Hungary, £1,566,076; exports to Austro-Hungary, £975,048. Total, £2,541,124. Remaining from all other countries, £1,110,343. In 1882, 280,000 pigs were exported, valued at £559,600; dried plums, £569, 850; wool, £324,070; wheat, £243,344; wine, £103,386. Increase of foreign trade: 1842, £520,000; 1852, £880,000; 1862, £1,120,000; 1868, £2,680,000; 1880, £3,600,000.

I also took the liberty of saying to the Minister of Finances that another danger seemed to me to threaten Servia—that of the national debt, increasing every year, injuring every family, completely ruining the country districts, and doing more harm than "plague, pestilence, and famine," the three scourges from which the English Litany entreats deliverance. There is no more active agent of pauperization. The disasters of war are quickly repaired, as we have seen in France since 1870, but the debt snatches

the bread out of the mouths of the bread producers. Look at Italy, Russia, and Egypt. It is a special cause of suffering in countries far away from the markets of the West, where produce is low priced and money is scarce. In an isolated province in the middle of the Balkan Peninsula a family lives comfortably on the fruits of the soil, but force them to give two or three pounds sterling a year in money to the bankers of Paris or Vienna for their share of the interest of the debt, and how much produce will have to be taken away for this, in a district without roads for exportation, and with no buyers on the spot, because each produces everything that he needs! The ease of borrowing is an irresistible attraction for those who govern. They have in hand at once the means of great improvements or war expenses; the future will provide interest and repayment. Bankers are always ready to advance the money; they pocket the premium, and throw the risk on the shareholders. The deficit increases, more borrowing is needed to pay it, the people are burdened with increasing charges, until failure comes. This is the usual history of Oriental loans. For primitive countries, credit is a plague!

The Servian debt is not yet more than £10,400,000, of which £4,000,000 went to make the Belgrade-Nisch railway, and to replace the thousands lost in the Bontoux failure. But the loans only began to follow one another in 1875, and already they take more than £600,000 a year out of a revenue of £1,860,000. This is the entrance to the dismal path that has led Turkey to ruin. To obtain the £200,000 required for the 100,000 new Mauser guns, the salt monopoly has been given up to the Anglo-Austrian bank for five years, and recently other taxes have been treated in the same way, thus putting themselves at the mercy of foreign financiers. Nothing is more unfortunate for a State; it thus alienates its independence.

I know well that up to the present time Servia can pay the interest on the debt, so much the more because the new railway, especially when it unites Belgrade to Salonica on the one side, and to Constantinople on the other, will



greatly favour the development of wealth ; but still, I could not conceal my impression from the Servian Ministers, who gave me such a gracious reception. Costly armaments, repeated loans, the sources of revenue pledged—these are disquieting symptoms that must be watched. *Principiis obsta* is an admirable motto, too little understood.\*

When travelling I always try, when I have time, to visit the offices of the principal papers ; it is the best centre of information. One finds there intelligent men capable of explaining the situation in a more “ objective ” manner and more impartially than the “ politicians.” I met M. Komartchitch, editor of the progressist and governmental paper, the *Videlo*, several times. He told me there are three parties in Serbia—Conservatives, Progressists, and Radicals. The Conservative chief, M. Ristich, is the most important political man in the country. He was a member of the Council of Regency, after the death of Prince Michael, during the minority of Prince Milan. It was he who directed the foreign policy during the difficult and dangerous time of the Turco-Russian war, and also at the Congress of Berlin, where he had the honour to obtain for Serbia the two important provinces of Nisch and Pirot. He resigned office because he was not willing to yield to the demands made by Austria in the Treaty of Commerce. When the Cabinet of Vienna threatened to close their frontiers to the exports of Serbia, and the Austrian cannon were brought to bear upon Semlin, Serbia dared not oppose, and M. Ristich retired.

It is said that he is a tool of Russia. He denies it emphatically. “ What I desire for my country,” he said to me, “ is the precious possession that we have gained at the price of our blood—independence. We ought to preserve friendly relations with Austria, but we cannot forget what Russia has done for us. It is to her that we owe our existence. It was Russia which, after the peace of Bucharest, in 1812, then in 1815, and in 1821 and 1830, inter-

\* The foregoing reflections of the author are strongly emphasized by the events of the late war.—TRANSLATOR.

posed on our behalf and obtained our freedom. It is useless to recall her sacrifices in our favour during the last war. It is still from Russia that we expect the deliverance of the Slav populations, freed by the Treaty of San Stefano, but again submitted to the Turkish yoke by the Treaty of Berlin. The friend of all, the servant of none, ought to be our motto." At home M. Ristich is opposed to the too hasty and partizan changes of a strong government. He is still in the prime of life. His firm and almost severe eye indicates a resolute will. He stated his views with great clearness, and, when animated, with real eloquence. His large and richly furnished house is situated on the Boulevard Michael, not far from the Konak.

Amongst the eminent statesmen of Servia, belonging to the Conservative party, we can again mention M. Kristitch, who has been, on several occasions, President of the Council; Marinovitch, former President of the Senate, now (1885) Servian Minister at Paris; and Garaschanine, who has exerted great influence on the affairs of his country.

The Progressist party corresponds with the Liberals of the West. It has but little respect for ancient institutions, which it looks on as a remnant of barbarism, and it does not pride itself on a too great deference to the National Church, as was proved by the manner in which it brought on and ended the difference with the Metropolitan Michael. It desires to endow the country as soon as possible with everything that we call Western civilization: a large trade, railways, financial business, banks and credit, education of all kinds, fine public buildings, well-paved towns lighted with gas, well-to-do tradespeople living merrily, increase of wealth; and, to hasten the realization of this programme, increase of the powers and wealth of the Government, and centralization. The king, who wishes to see his country walk with a rapid step in the path of progress, attaches himself by preference to this group of "Liberals." Moreover, like all sovereigns who fear the shocks that may be brought about by the present situation of Europe, his chief aim is to strengthen the army.

The Radical party includes two groups of very different tendencies. The first is composed of peasants and country popes, who desire to preserve intact the ancient local liberties, and to pay few taxes. They are, consequently, opposed to the innovations of the Progressists, who spend money and extend the sphere of action of the central power. In this respect the rural Servians resemble those of Switzerland, who, by the *referendum*, mercilessly rejected all centralizing measures, to those of Denmark, who, preponderating in the Lower Chamber, have refused for many years to vote a budget in their opinion too favourable to the towns, and to those of Norway, who hold King Oscar, so much and so deservedly beloved in Sweden, in check. The second section of the Radical party is composed of young people, who, having studied abroad, have brought back republican and socialistic ideas. Their organ is the *Somocoprava* (Autonomy). Their love of ancient Slav institutions flashes into a strange enthusiasm for the "commune" of Paris, as may be verified in their journal, the *Borda* (The Battle). In a programme, only lately published in one of their journals, they demanded the revision of the Constitution in order to bring about the following reforms: suppression of the Council of State, division of the country into federal cantons, the paid magistracy replaced by elected judges, all taxes transformed into a progressive tax upon the revenue, and national militia instead of a standing army.

If the elections are free, the peasant's party ought to gain them, for every man who is of age, and pays taxes on either property or income, is an elector, which is equivalent to universal household suffrage. There are 300,000 taxpayers, nine-tenths of whom belong to the country. But when the town Radicals declare revolutionary and socialistic ideas, which are but little applicable to a country where there is neither accumulation of capital nor proletariat, and where the essential principle of socialism is realized, "the produce to the producer," because the landed property is divided universally and equally, then the peasants are afraid, and the advanced party is given defenceless into the hands

of the Government, which has sometimes used towards them summary methods of repression, recalling too much the Turkish epoch, as we have seen lately.

I cannot suppress the thought that the Progressist party, in endeavouring to establish hastily the government, which the French Revolution and the Empire have bestowed on France, is following a mistaken ideal, from which the West is turning away. At the risk of passing for a reactionary, I do not hesitate to say that the peasants are very often right in their opposition. It is such a great advantage for a country to possess living local autonomies, having their roots in the past, that great care should be taken that they are neither weakened nor restricted in their powers. When centralization has destroyed them it is very difficult to bring them back to life, as we see in France and England.

The ever increasing number of "officials" is one of the evils of modern States. Why introduce it where it does not exist? One example will explain my meaning. Whilst Belgium, with five and a half millions of inhabitants, has only nine governors of provinces, Servia, which has only 1,800,000 inhabitants, is divided into twenty-one departments with as many *préfets* (*natchalnick*), and 81 districts, each having a *sous-préfet* (*sreski-natchalnick*), and in each *préfecture* and *sous-préfecture*, there are secretaries, clerks, assistants. Is it not too much? The end aimed at—the rapid and uniform application of the laws—seems very desirable. It appears intolerable that all the communes should not advance together, and that some should stay far in the background. It is, however, what we find in the freest and happiest countries, Switzerland, the United States, and formerly in the Low Countries. Uniformity is admirable, but it may be bought too dearly. We see in Tocqueville how, by enforcing it, the ancient *régime* destroyed local life and prepared for the Revolution.

The incalculable advantage of these countries, where the primitive commune has survived, is, that the more they are democrats, the more they are conservative.

What are the causes which perturb the Western States? Great manufactures, the concentration of capital, the proletariat, large towns, and centralization. Now, this is what the Progressists are trying to develop in Serbia; they are, then, in their turn, the abettors of future revolutions, by multiplying places at the expense of the ratepayers; ample prey for which the political parties, parliamentary influences, and the aspirants to power, will dispute. It is one of the evils from which Greece and Spain formerly suffered, without referring to countries nearer home.

The Servians ought to remain chiefly an agricultural people. *Beati nimum agricolæ!* It is not true, as the German Economist List, the founder of the Zollverein, has said, whilst appealing to the example of ancient Poland, that a State exclusively devoted to agriculture cannot rise to a high degree of civilization. Thirty or forty years ago, before an ultra-protective tariff had developed the great trade of the United States, New England had as much enlightenment and comfort, and more virtue and true liberty, than it has now. Read what the far-sighted travellers, Michel Chevalier, Ampère, and Tocqueville, say of this period—nowhere had they found a more perfect social condition. There is the example that must be followed, and from which Serbia is separated only by a certain inferiority of culture which is the inevitable result of four centuries of servitude.

If my voice could be heard, I would say to the Servians, Keep your communal institutions, your equal distribution of the land, respect local autonomies, take care they are not crushed by rules and officials. Above all, have good teachers, educated popes, schools of practical agriculture, ways of communication, then give free action to individual initiative, and you will become a model country, the centre of agglomeration of that immense and splendid crystal in course of formation, the Balkan Federation. But if, on the contrary, you force and repress the people, to advance more quickly and too rapidly approach the West, you will lead both Serbia and yourselves into the vortex, for you will provoke revolution.

I had an interview with M. Vladan Georgevitch, of the sanitary service of Serbia, which he organized, and of which he is very proud. He has travelled and studied much, and he has been able to enact model regulations in a country where almost everything had still to be done. I will say a few words about it, because it raises a serious discussion. It is certain that it is for the communes a series of measures, and for individuals a method of life, food, and care in case of illness, which are in complete conformity with public and private hygiene. Ought the State, by detailed regulations, to impose everything that science commands, in this respect, as it does in the army, in order to increase the strength of the people as far as possible? It is certain that in so doing the State would help the citizens to gain stronger health, and better to ward off epidemics; but, on the other hand, it would weaken the sense of personal responsibility and initiative, as has been seen in the Jesuit establishments at Paraguay; it would favour the extension of officialism; the nation would become a minor, subject to a perpetual tutelage. Herbert Spencer has uttered an admirably eloquent cry of alarm, whilst describing "The Coming Slavery," which he says, will reduce men, formerly free, to be only automatons in the hands of the omnipotent State. It is the eternal debate between the individual and external authority. I find myself much embarrassed before a more minute and excessive code of laws than any enacted by Prussian bureaucracy, and, at the same time, so methodical, so conformed to the *desiderata* of science, that it is impossible not to admire it. Time will tell. I imagine there is not a doctor who would not desire such an organization for his country.

In the Home Ministry there is a sanitary department, composed of the head of the service, an inspector-general and a secretary, two chemists, and a veterinary-general—all doctors of medicine. The sphere and authority of this department extend over everything relating to health, even the food of the people. It can enact obligatory rules as to food applicable to all kinds of working men. The enu-

meration of these forms a small volume. To carry out these orders, the department has under its control doctors for the department, the district, and the town, also the veterinaries, and the midwives. The medical organization is as complete as the administrative; alongside of the *préfet* the departmental doctor, almost as well paid; by the *sous-préfet* the doctor of the district, with the same salary; in each town of a certain importance, a town doctor who has the right of forming part of the municipal council. This is excellent, in any case. The general sanitary council, of seven doctors, also meets at the Ministry. It is a consulting scientific body; its duty is to study and regulate the measures that may be adopted by the sanitary section, which represents the executive power. The country is therefore entirely in the hands of a hierarchy of medical officers, invested with the power to inspect and regulate all that relates to the health of mankind and of domestic animals.

Here are some details of these laws. Every child must be vaccinated between the third and twelfth month of his life, and re-vaccinated when he leaves the primary school, re-vaccinated a third time when called to military service. The obligatory and free vaccination is performed under the superintendence of the *préfet* and of the departmental doctor, in presence of the mayor. The vaccination must be performed between the 1st of May and the 30th of September. Upon every house in which contagious disease is present, there must be affixed a label, describing the nature of the illness. There is the same rule in Holland, where one might lately have seen, on the hotel occupied by the heir to the crown, a label with these words of evil omen, *typhoid fever*. The departmental doctor must inspect the cleanliness of inhabited houses, and remove the causes of infection or illness which result from privies and manure heaps too near the springs, from the nature of the water, from poor food, from customs concerning births and burials. These investigations must reach a very delicate subject, for they should trace "how marriages are made, if they pro-

duce hereditary maladies, what is the average number of children to each union, and if there are causes which limit it." Under penalty of disciplinary punishment, he is bound to obtain from the *préfet* measures to abolish, either in workshops or in private houses, "everything that may injure the health."

The number of druggists, and the price of all taxed medicines, are limited by law. Doctors' fees for advice and operations are also. Thus, in the capital a simple visit is charged from 1 to 4 dinars (10d. to 3s. 3d.); in the rest of the country, from 1 to 2 dinars; for a splint for a broken arm, 6 dinars; for the amputation of an arm or leg, 40 dinars (£1 12s. 6d.); for the use of forceps, 6 to 40 dinars, and so on. It cannot be said that the medical staff has abused its great power to overcharge the sufferers. A hospital of at least twenty beds must be opened in the chief town of each department, and in each division; it is set, as nearly as possible, in the centre of the territory. Let us not forget that there are 31 for 1,800,000 persons. The official doctor resides there. The poor are received without charge, or they are taken care of at home.

In the interest of the public health the regulations have not feared to forbid a secular custom, which almost resembled a religious rite. The Orthodox, everywhere, carry their dead to the cemetery in an open coffin, and cover the face and the body with flowers; henceforward a closed coffin must be used, under penalty of prison and fine. The regulations to stop infectious maladies at the frontier and in the country are equally strict and minute.

This large and complete sanitary organization has a special budget, which is made up of all the hospital foundations, blended in a special fund, of a special tax of 1 dinar 60 cents for each ratepayer, and of State subsidies. I think that no country has such a minute and perfect system of hygienic police. But have they gone too far? M. Vladan Georgevitch, in an interesting study on the sanitary service of Servia, shows us that from the twelfth century the ancient Servian sovereigns, the great Stephan Nemanja and King



Milutine, founded hospitals. This eminent hygienist proposed to make Belgrade the healthiest city in Europe. To effect this, he is now engaged in preparing for large works in paving, lighting, and draining, which is excellent in itself; only, to pay the interest of the twelve millions *that it will cost*, he wishes to establish the *octroi*, that is, a *tax on some products* entering the town, which would be a great pity. Now, when all economists condemn this tax, and the countries which have done away with it, like Belgium and Holland, are looked on with envy, they are about to surround Belgrade with an inner circle of custom houses and with a cordon of excise; and they have chosen to do this just at the time when the new railways, which will unite the East and West, are about to make the Serbian capital a great centre of commerce, where it is especially necessary to facilitate exchange by doing away with impediments, expense, and delay. It would be better to carry out the improvements slowly than to arrest the start of commerce, which flees when it is inconvenienced.

Great hopes are raised by the development of the mining industries. There is already an iron foundry at Maidan-Pek, in the hands of an English company, but it destroys the forests, and does not return good profits. Soon, thanks to the railway, it will be possible to work the beds of lignite that are found between Tchoupria and Alexinatz, and on the borders of the Nischava, beyond Nisch; and also to reopen the mines of argentiferous lead at Kopaonik and Yastribatz, in the valley of Topolnitza. Like Greece at the Laurium mines, Servia possesses the remnants of old mining operations, which yield 5 to 6 per cent. of lead and 0·0039 of silver. It is calculated that there are 426,000 cubic mètres of it. It is met with in the mountains of Glatschina, 28 kilomètres from Belgrade.

The building in which the Skouptchina, the National Assembly, meets, is a provisional construction without architectural pretension. We find here, as everywhere, the floor for the members formed in a semicircle, the galleries for the public and the reporters of the press, but there is

no tribune for the orator—each speaks from his place. The ordinary constitutional rules are in force, but there is only one chamber. The Council of State, formerly called the Senate (Soviet), with from eleven to fifteen members appointed by the king, draws up the laws. It has also important administrative functions, but the Skouptchina alone passes the laws and the budget. There are now 170 members, of whom three-quarters are the elected representatives of 3,000 taxpayers, and the last fourth appointed by the king “from those who are distinguished by their education or their experience of public business.” Every Servian who has attained his majority and pays a tax on his property, work, or income, is an elector. To be a deputy a man must be at least thirty years of age, and must pay at least 30 dinars in taxes to the State. Curious anomaly, officers, officials, advocates, ministers of religion, cannot be appointed by the people, but only by the king. The Skouptchina meets every year. The king can dissolve it. To change the Constitution (Oustaw), to elect the sovereign or the regent, if it is necessary, or for any question of the first importance on which the king wishes to consult the country, it is necessary to call the extraordinary Skouptchina, which consists of four times the number of deputies included in the ordinary one. A band of refugees met in the forest of Oréchatz on the 4th of February, 1804, decided on a holy war against the Turks, and conferred on Kara-George the title of *vojda*, or chief. This was the first Skouptchina. From it emanated, therefore, the Servian nationality and, at a later time, the dynasty. It is in Servia, more completely than anywhere else, that all active power may be said to come from the people. The electors being all independent landowners, the elections ought to be perfectly free. Nevertheless, it is said, that in great crises the Government, by the influence of the *préfets* and *sous-préfets*, manages to carry its candidates. If that is true, it is a grievous symptom, both for the governors and the governed.

The price of produce and the rise of salaries serve to give

an idea of the economic conditions of a country. The figures are slightly lower than in the West, but not markedly so. In 1882 the king's civil list was raised from 700,000 to 1,200,000 dinars. The Metropolitan received 25,000 dinars; the Ministers and Bishops, 12,630 dinars; the Councillors of State, 10,140 dinars; the Councillors of the Court of Accounts and of the Court of Causation, from 5,000 to 7,000 dinars; the President of a Tribunal of the First Instance, from 4,000 to 5,000 dinars; the Judges, from 2,500 to 4,000 dinars; a Professor of the University, 3,283 dinars, raised every five years till it reaches 7,172 dinars; a Professor of Middle Class Instruction, 2,273 dinars, increased every five years till it reaches 5,000 dinars: teachers of either sex receive, besides fuel and house provided by the commune, 800 dinars, increased constantly till it reaches the maximum of 2,450 dinars; a general, 12,600 dinars; a colonel, 7,000 dinars; a captain, 2,700 dinars; and a lieutenant, 1,920 dinars. In Belgrade the price of meat is a dinar the kilogramme; fish, 1 dinar 25 p.; sterlet, 1 dinar 60 p.; bread, 25 p.; wine, 50 p. to 1 dinar; butter, 3 to 4 dinars; a couple of fowls, 2 to 3 dinars: a turkey, 4 dinars; a goose, 3 dinars. The further we go into the interior of the country the lower are the prices. Rapid methods of communication are levelling prices. Belgrade is already influenced by the market at Pesth. Servia has adopted the French monetary system, only the franc is called *dinar*, and the centime *para*.

The value of real estate in Servia is rapidly increasing. In 1863 that of the town property, exclusive of Belgrade, was reckoned at 48,531,844 dinars, and that of the country districts at 196,099,000 dinars. But according to the calculations communicated by the editor of the *Ouprava Fondara* to M. de Borchgrave, it would be necessary to raise the estimate of the value of the town properties to about 100 millions, and that of the country properties to 2,160,000,000 dinars. For Belgrade alone they reckon 1,080,000,000 dinars, which seems relatively too high. For estates, valuation is difficult, because land sells for very little. Twelve

thousand of the 360,000 taxpayers in Servia have borrowed from the *Ouprava Fondara* on mortgage a sum of 36 million dinars, of which 12 millions is for Belgrade, and 24 millions for the rest of the country.

In Belgrade building land fetches a high price, 60 to 100 dinars per square metre in the streets Prince Michael and Teresia, 20 to 30 dinars towards the Danube, and 24 to 40 dinars near the Save. Building is dear, because labour and materials are high priced. A mason's wages are from 5 to 6 dinars a day; their assistants, who are often women, receive 1 dinar 50 p.; 1,000 bricks are worth 35 to 40 dinars. Houses bring in from 8 to 10 or 12 per cent. on their cost: they are then a good investment, for the railway will increase the value of landed property in the capital. It would be advantageous to introduce here the method of making bricks used by the Belgians, who produce them at the price of from 12 to 15 dinars per 1,000.

M. Vouitch, Professor of Political Economy in the University, took me through the building. It was constructed by the generous legacy of a Servian patriot, Captain Micha Anastasievitch, who died recently at Bucharest, and one of whose daughters has married M. Marinovitch, Servian Envoy in Paris. It is the finest public building in Belgrade. Collections of coins, arms, antiquities, and portraits, interesting as illustrating the national history, are placed there. It is also the seat of the Royal Academy of Science. The university has only three faculties: that of philosophy and literature; that of science, including the fine arts and handicrafts; and that of law. There are 28 professors and about 200 students. To study medicine it is necessary to go abroad.

The civil code, drawn up under Milosch, is an imitation of the Austrian code; however, there are several curious differences to be noticed; this amongst others, that, as in all primitive legislation, the daughters shall not inherit if there are sons or grandsons. They have only a dowry, in order that the family possessions may not pass into the hands of strangers.

I read in a financial paper: "The Berlin papers are taking up the question of the excise duty on Servian tobacco. The imposition of this duty was accepted in the contract of advances concluded between the bank of the Austrian countries and the discounting bank. It is fixed, for the first five years, at 2,250,000 dinars, and it progresses quinquennially. It is the guarantee of the loan of 40 millions, the use of which will be directly paid for by the contracting parties for this duty, and by deductions from these returns."

Nothing could be more unfortunate! There is Servia, a free and scarcely emancipated country, following in the steps of Turkey and Egypt. She mortgages and pledges all her resources one after another, giving the right to European financiers to interfere in her internal administration, which is a very serious thing. Her independence is at an end; the tribute, no longer paid to Constantinople, will go, under still harsher conditions, to Paris or Vienna: thus the Servian nation is advancing towards bankruptcy or economic bondage. Valiant Kara-George, glorious Milosch, was it for such a future that you fought?

What are the future aims of Servia? They are vast and limitless, like the dreams of youth. Highminded patriots see the Empire of Dushan re-born in a far-off future, which is a mere chimera. There are others here, as at Agram, who hope some time to see the establishment of a Servo-Croat State, which will include all the populations speaking the same language—Croats, Servians, Slovenes, Dalmatians, and Montenegrins; but, to realize this, they must either submit to Austria or help on her disintegration. Although this project carries with it the great force of the principle of nationalities, it is not yet on the eve of realization. Practical patriots see only one near aim, the annexation of Old Servia, this northern point of Macedonia, to the south of Vrania, which includes the scene of the greatness and fall of the ancient Servian kingdom; Ipek, the residence of the former Servian Patriarchs; Skopia, where Dushan put on his head the imperial crown of the

whole Peninsula ; Detchani, the tomb of the dynasty of the Nemanides ; and Kossovo, the epic battle-field where the Ottomans triumphed definitely. According to Mr. Arthur Evans, a traveller who knows thoroughly Old Servia, whenever a Servian army enters Old Servia it will be joyfully welcomed by the *rayas*, who are in a terrible state. In order to avoid future complications, Europe must take into account the wishes of the peoples, arising from ethnic, economic, and geographic suitability and historical reminiscences.

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## CHAPTER VI.

### HISTORIC REMINISCENCES OF SERVIA—BELGRADE.

I HAD previously thought that there was no Socialist party in Servia, but on examination I found that it really exists, only it is chiefly made up of peasants, whose sole desire is to govern themselves by means of their respective communes, and to pay the smallest possible amount of taxes. They are levellers in this sense, that they do not agree with the establishment of numerous officials, living at their cost. A member of the Radical party came to see me and gave me some particulars of the history of Socialism in Servia.\* The origin of this movement may be traced to the year 1860 and to the formation of the Omladina. It arose amongst the Servians, who, to the number of about a million, inhabit Hungary. They were then more advanced than the other Servians, and their chief town, Neusatz, on the bank of the Danube, was a centre of intellectual and ecclesiastical culture. The young people and the literary men arrived at the very just idea that "representatives" of the Servians of the Principality, of Croatia, and Lower Hungary, should hold a Congress every year. Thus was founded, in 1861, in the town of Gross-Kilinda, a politico-literary association, which took the name of *Omladina*,

\* A thoroughly good notice on this subject has been published in *Jahrbucher für Sozialwissenschaft*, *Erst. Jahr.* 2 *Halfte*, p. 384, and *Zweiter Jahr.* p. 327.

with the motto, "Through light to liberty." It was divided into sections, whose mission was to publish papers and found literary societies in their respective countries. Till 1871 the *Omladina* met each year in one of the three towns, Belgrade, Neusatz, and Pancsevo.

Two important Servian papers were started, the *Srbija* in Servia, the *Zastawa* in Hungary, which is still published.

Two different tendencies were developed within the *Omladina*: the one pointed to the liberty and intellectual progress of the Servians, preparing for the realization of the national idea, the great Servia; the other tended towards a vague ideal of social reforms and material equality. Some young people who had studied in Russia brought back the doctrines of Tchernyschewsky and Bakounine, which I have attempted to explain in my book on "Contemporary Socialism." Some amount of hostile feeling was shown by these two divisions, and the *Omladina* ceased to call them together.

Jouyovitch and Svetozar Markovitch were mentioned to me as amongst the best known Radical Socialists. Jouyovitch died young, in 1870, after having written many articles in the organ of the Servians, the *Matiza*, published at Neusatz, and the *Glasnik* at Belgrade.

Markovitch was educated at St. Petersburg and at the Polytechnicum at Zurich. He helped to bring over the young men to materialistic socialism, giving them at the same time a taste for natural science. He started a paper in 1865, the *Radnik* (the Workman). He sharply attacked the minister Ristich, and glorified the Commune of Paris, which drew him into law-suits, and finally led to the suppression of the paper. On the other hand, co-operative associations, both for consumption and production, were established, through his influence, in Servia, chiefly amongst the tailors, bootmakers, locksmiths, and blacksmiths.

I heard also of Adam Bogosawljewitch, a man of an interesting type, which makes us understand why the peasants so often choose radical and socialist deputies. He was born in 1844, in the village of Koprivnitza, in the depart-



ment of Kragina; his father was a cattle dealer; he got a good education at the College of Zajetschar, and afterward, at the University of Belgrade; but he refused to receive any diploma, in order to shut himself off from an administrative career. He said, "It is a great misfortune for Servia that every young man who has been through the higher courses of education enters the service of the State, and so the bureaucracy is strengthened to the loss of productive work." He was right there, especially looking to the future. Amidst a society of very equal condition, and where there is no room for a lazy "*bourgeoisie*," what can he do who, having acquired some smattering of knowledge, is no longer willing to work with his hands? Nothing, if he does not become an official. Thus is formed a constantly increasing class of Government servants, who, upheld by the State, live on the budget, which has therefore to be increased constantly. A perilous hostility will inevitably arise between the tax-paying peasantry and this bureaucratic caste. If the opposition of the country people is crushed out or rendered useless, those who cultivate the ground, that is, the great mass of the nation, will be more severely taxed by the officials and the Western bankers than they were formerly by the Turkish *Beys* and *Spahis*.

Bogosawljewitch, like a Roman of the Republic, tilled the ground with his own hands, wearing the national dress, and introducing improved systems of cultivation, whilst he also reserved some leisure time, which he spent in his large and well-chosen library. He thus became the idol of the peasants, who called him "the people's friend," and who unfailingly appointed him deputy, although, on several occasions, the Minister induced the *Skoupchtina* to invalidate his election. In 1873 the support given him by the socialist paper, the *Jawnost*, gave his nomination a signification which irritated the Government. The dissolution of the *Skoupchtina*, where the Opposition seemed to have the majority, was decreed, and "the people's friend" was arrested and put in prison. But bands of armed countrymen invaded Negotin, where he was detained; they rescued

him and took him home in triumph. His popularity was so great that he was left in freedom.

Re-elected to the *Skoupchtina*, he was again thrown into prison on March 29, 1879, and he died suddenly the next day from inflammation of the lungs. We see by this example what attracts the Servian peasantry towards the Socialists; it is neither their communistic nor their nihilistic theories, but their opposition to the expense and luxury of the Government, and their claims for Communal Autonomy.

About 1872 Svetozar Markovitch, one of the best known Socialist writers, returned to Belgrade. In his book, "Servia in the East," he tried to show that the extension of the *zadrugas* and the common ownership would bring the solution of the social question upon historic ground to the Jougo-Slavs. He founded, at Kragoujevatz, a centre of socialist radical activity which soon exerted great influence, and thus became the object of Government prosecutions. The papers which he started successively, the *Jawnost*, the *Rail*, the *Glas Jawnosti*, all fell under reiterated condemnations. He had himself to endure eight months in prison, which completely ruined his health. He died at Trieste, where he went in search of a milder climate, on February 25, 1875. All parties did homage to his talent. The paper of M. Ristitch said of him:

"The well-known Servian author, Svetozar Markovitch, died at Trieste. We may say of this man, that every page he published was written with his heart's blood and the very marrow of his bones."

In 1875 the *Skoupchtina* was in open opposition to the Ministry; in vain the Prince went himself to bring it back to his will: the Cabinet was compelled to retire. But the new Ministry was obliged to overawe the radical party by suits and imprisonments. Nevertheless, the new elections once more gave the Radicals a majority. Ristitch, again in power, thought that the time for yielding had come; he granted laws which extended communal autonomy, and with more protection to individual liberty and the freedom of the press.

At the new communal elections (1875) the Radical party was victorious in a large number of towns, and even in the ancient capital, Kragoujevatz. The rejoicings which took place on this occasion gave rise to some disturbances. Thirty-two of the principal inhabitants were put in prison and charged with the crime of conspiracy. This great trial moved the whole country; twelve barristers pleaded for the accused, who were all acquitted.

In 1877 the war with Turkey having permitted the Government to proclaim a state of siege, advantage was taken of it to condemn to prison and compulsory labour many Socialists accused of conspiracy. Some of these were even shot, Captain Jefrem Markovitch, who, amongst others, had distinguished himself by taking the important position of Ak-Palanka from the Turks. Notwithstanding the excessive severity of these repressive measures which forced many Radicals to seek safety in exile, twelve of their representatives were elected in 1878, and eighteen in 1881.

In October, 1882, Helen, the widow of Jefrem Markovitch attempted to avenge the death of her husband by killing King Milan. In the following June she was found dead in her prison, like her friend, Madame Knitchanine.

The elections of September 15, 1883, placed a Radical, or at least an anti-ministerialist, majority in the *Skoupchtina*. The Ristitch Ministry replaced the Progressist Cabinet: he ordered the arrest of a number of deputies and members of the electoral committees on the charge of plotting against the safety of the State. These violent and illegal measures provoked attempts at insurrection, which were pitilessly repressed under the laws of the state of siege. When a Government has recourse so frequently to exceptional measures we may conclude it is only upheld by force. It is a perilous situation for any country which is not wholly inured to despotism.

In order to understand the present situation of Servia and its after development, a brief summary of its recent history may be useful.

In 1801 the *Dahis*, the chiefs of the Janissaries, took

possession of the Servian Government and massacred the heads of the communes and the principal inhabitants. There was a general insurrection, of which the wooded district of the Schoumadia was the centre. George Petrovitch, or Kara-George (from the Turkish word *kara*, black), put himself at the head of the movement. The Servians, supported by the Mussulman proprietors, the *Spahis*, pursued the *Dahis* and Janissaries: they gained a great victory over the Ottoman troops near Tchoupria and took their General prisoner, September, 1804. The country was organized, and the first Senate called together. The Servians placed themselves under the protection of Russia, who, on the peace with Turkey, in 1806, did not stipulate for sufficient guarantees for Servia; she increased the disagreements between Mladen, President of the Senate, and Kara-George, in order that her aid might be still needed. Offensive return of the Ottoman troops. The Servians defeated at Tchoupria, 1809. Heroic defence of Deligrad. Aided by Russian troops they drove back the Turks in 1810 and 1811. Armistice *de facto* in 1812. The Treaty of Bucharest, between Russia and the Porte, did not ensure the independence of Servia.

In 1813 the Turkish armies invaded the country with overwhelming forces. The Servians were everywhere beaten, the country devastated. Kara-George fled to a foreign land.

In 1815 Milosch Obrenovitch headed a new insurrection. He drove back, at the same time, Reschid Pacha, who came from Bosnia, and the Grand Vizier, Marashli Ali Pacha, who advanced from the south. In 1817, provisional peace. Kara-George returned to Servia, and was killed by the Mayor of Smederevo Vuitza, whose guest he was. Milosch was not an accomplice of the crime. The firman of 1820 and the firman of Adrianople recognized the right of Servia to govern herself and choose her own sovereign in consideration of an annual tribute to the Porte. An address of thanks was sent to the Sultan and to the Czar, "the magnanimous protector of Servia."

Intrigues of the agents of Russia put obstacles in the way of the complete emancipation of Servia, opposed Milosch, upheld the Senate against him, and recommended the vote of a Constitution. Struggles for influence between England and Russia; the latter triumphed, and supporting the enemies of Milosch, forced him to abdicate June, 1839.

Milan, then Michael Obrenovitch, son of Milosch, was elected Prince. Vucitch and Petronijevitch, senators and enemies of Michel, called in the intervention of the Turks against him. Russia, which did not find him a sufficiently compliant servant, deserted him. Triumphant insurrection. Alexander Kara-George elected. He became unpopular. Opposition of the Senate. Alexander, abandoned by both Russia and the Porte, compelled to flee from Belgrade, November, 1858.

Milosch was recalled. Patriarchal, energetic, independent government. On his death, in the spring of 1860, his son Michel succeeded him. He took for his motto, "The law is the supreme authority in Servia." Fight between Christians and Mussulmans at Belgrade. The Turks of the citadel bombarded the town. The Consuls protested. Organization of a national army. Turkey consented to evacuate the fortresses which she still occupied (1867). Reorganization of the Senate and National Assembly. The first Minister, Kristitch, governed autocratically; he was superseded by M. Ristitch, who was assisted by another very capable statesman, Garashanine. Prince Michael was assassinated, May 25, 1868. His nephew, Milan Obrenovitch, was proclaimed. Regency established under Blasnavatz. Reorganization of the army. Grant of a Liberal Constitution. Opposition of Russia. Law as to the liberty of the Press and general education. Prince Milan goes to the Crimea to re-establish good relations with the Czar. The events of the Russo-Turkish war, which have made Servia an independent kingdom, are too recent to be related here.

In the contemporary history of Servia two things are set in strong relief. Firstly, the Russian policy, which,

through its hostile influences, blundered signally and lost the result of its previous sacrifices. It was certainly, to a great extent, to Russian support that Serbia owed its existence as an independent State, and especially its recent extension; but, wishing still to keep it dependent, Russia was opposed to the growth of its liberty and power, and encouraged internal discord. It therefore follows that the Servians have not retained any feelings of gratitude towards the Russians. The same policy has been followed in Bulgaria. Russia harms, in this way, both herself and those whom she protects. Establish new States, respect their independence and support their legitimate aspirations, then you may count upon them in the hour of peril.

The second point that I wish to point out is the odious conduct of men who, like Vucsitch, imitating the betrayal of Vuk to Kossovo, ask the help of foreigners to upset their enemies at home. The struggles of the Great Powers for influence provoke these coalitions, which ought to be branded as a crime by all parties.

We do not realize how little education there was throughout Serbia when the War of Independence began. In 1807 a decree was passed that only those who could read and write should be allowed to fill the high offices of the State. "Useless command," said Madame Mijatovitch; "twenty years afterwards the most important posts were held by men who could hardly sign their own name."

In order to study the economic conditions more thoroughly I decided to go by land to Constantinople, thus traversing the Balkan Peninsula diagonally, from one end to the other. The railway, since opened from Belgrade to Nisch, was not then completed, but my journey was greatly helped by the kindness of the Servian Government, which placed a travelling carriage at my disposal, and gave me as guide and interpreter a young Frenchman, M. Vavasseur, who, having come as a volunteer in the War of Independence, had married a Servian lady, and become an attaché to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. We started for Smederevo—Semendria—in splendid weather. The summers are dry

and warm throughout Eastern Europe, and, unless there is a storm, it never rains.

I left with regret the "White Town," so cheerful in the morning sunshine. What a contrast with the impression that it made upon Blanqui in 1842! He said, "From the time we approach Belgrade, besides a few houses with green shutters built in the European style, all that presents itself to view is of Turkish physiognomy: the walls of the fortress in ruins, tall white minarets amidst the cypress trees, the many-coloured lattices before the windows, the uneven pavement, the unswept streets; here, houses in ruins; further away, large open spaces, dark and dirty shops, case-ments without windows, and ragged people." I noticed, in passing, the national arms of Servia on some of the public buildings—a white cross upon a red ground, with four golden C's, signifying Cama, Cloga, Cpasiva, Cerbi, "Unity alone can save Servia."

On leaving Belgrade I was surprised to see such a barren country. Open and deserted spaces, no villas, no market-gardens. The vegetables used in Belgrade are grown by Bulgarians on the other side of the Save, and brought every morning from Semlin; they are very dear. It would pay well to establish some dairies, with vegetable gardens near Belgrade. It would be better than begging for Government places, or starting uncertain and precarious trades.

Our road became charming as it neared the Danube, passing at the foot of hills covered with vines, walnut trees, and oaks. Now and then we saw a house surrounded by plum trees. In Servia, as in Bosnia, dried plums are an important article of commerce. More than 12,000 tons were exported in 1881, valued at 5d. the kilogramme. They also make prune brandy, *slivovitza*, known to all the Jougo-Slavs. Common *slivovitza*, very weak, is only worth 2d. the litre, but when it is strong it is sold at 10d.

We changed horses at Grotchka. Near here, the Austrians, under General Wallis, sustained, in 1793, a humiliating defeat, which ended the three years of war

which they had kept up against the Turks. The powers of resistance of the Ottoman Empire were enormous at that time. It is the attempt to assimilate our civilization which is killing it now. We arrived at Smederevo towards noon. How imposing is the sight of that old fortress, with its high mediæval towers, which rise proudly above the banks of the Danube ! It was erected in 1482 by George Brankovitch. The principal church, dedicated to St. George, was built by a Tzintzar architect. The Tzintzars, as I have said, were the great builders of this country. Much activity at the port ; long flat boats are being loaded with pigs, others are discharging their cargo of fine rock salt, clear as crystal, from the salt-mines of Maros-Ujvar, in Transylvania. I have seen beds of more than 100 metres in thickness, like those of a stone quarry. The hotel where we dined *à l'Autrichienne*, that is, very well, was full of Servian and Hungarian merchants. Upon the walls were pictures of scantily-dressed girls, which do not give a high idea of the morality of Smederevo. I saw nothing of the kind in the interior of the country : there, the engraving upon the walls represent the national saints, present sovereigns, and frequently the heroes of the last war. I am told that morality is good all over Servia.

Our road here left the Danube. We followed upwards the banks of the Jessava, which is one of the outlets of the Morava, the watershed of which, ramified in all directions, includes almost the whole of Servia.

I admired the fine vineyards on the hills overlooking Smederevo. It is the *aurcus mons* asserted by Eutropius to be planted by the soldiers of the Emperor M. Aurelius Probus. A railway runs parallel with the road on the other side of the Jessava ; it is a provisional branch, intended to bring the materials from the Danube to the Morava ; it has been made permanent, and it is the nearest way to a port on the Danube. The valley of the Morava is open as far as Nisch, and the mountains on both sides are wooded, and not steep. It is the valley of the Rhine between Bâle and Strasbourg in minia-



ture. The land is fertile and not badly cultivated. The predominant system of the succession of crops is the triennial, wheat or rye, maize and fallow. It is the same almost everywhere, with this difference, that in fertile parts they grow maize for several years together, and in barren land it is the fallow which lasts during a longer time. The dwelling-houses are large, with outbuildings, stables, cow-houses, maize ricks, barns, all together in a large, well-hedged space, in which the animals wander about. These constructions are generally thatched, and made of clay or wood, but being whitewashed, they peep out prettily amidst the fruit trees, which form a complete wood.

All along the road we noticed, near each village, a clump of old oak trees in the middle of large meadows, which looked well in the landscape; here, the droves of travelling cattle and harnessed oxen and buffaloes may rest and browse quite freely. Each family owns a little plot of 5 or 10 hectares, and has also the right of getting fuel from the woods of the Commune and the State. Geese, ducks, fowls are very plentiful, and they need not be sold to pay the rent. Owner of his farm, he eats them himself, he has the "fowl in the pot."

The post-horses all came from Hungary. The Servian horse is no bigger than a pony; it is ugly in shape, but it can bear fatigue well, and is as quiet as a mule. It is rather a beast of burden than of draught. It is low in price, from £2 10s. to £6 in the interior of the country; £12 for the best kinds. Prince Michael greatly desires to improve the breed. He has set up two studs, one at Pazarevatz, the other at Dobritchevo, near Tchoupria. Time is needed to produce appreciable results, and also the co-operation of the cultivators themselves. It would be an easy source of profit to them.

We met numberless carts, of primitive form, drawn by a couple of thin black buffaloes; some were carrying cereals, wheat, or, more frequently, maize to the Danube; others were bringing back salt, salt and still salt, and sometimes bales of various goods. Exchanges are very few here,

because each family produces within itself almost everything it needs.

Towards evening, when we were driving through the street of the village of Hadji-Begovatz, between Velika-Plana and Lapovo, my companion exclaimed, "What do I see! Here is the Abbé Tondini come to life again!" The Abbé had been sent by Strossmayer to administer the sacraments to 5,000 Italians, who were working on the railway. It had been stated by the Belgrade papers that one of them had killed him. He was very glad to meet us, and made us get out of the carriage and go with him to the garden of a neighbouring house, occupied by a French engineer, whose child he was going to baptize. It was a little festival. A long table was covered with fruit, flowers, and bottles. Frenchmen and Italians were fraternizing, glass in hand.

Strossmayer had spoken to me of the Abbé Tondini, of Quarenghi. "He is a true apostle," he had said, "wholly devoted to his work, educated, and speaking ten or twelve languages equally well." What a chance to meet him thus on the high road, in the very heart of Servia! We discovered another coincidence—that in a recent article of his in the *Contemporary Review*, against Pan Slavism, he had spoken of an article upon Bakounine that I had just published in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*.

He told me a very curious incident, which is another proof of Baron Kállay's assertion that Austria does not seek an Ultramontane propaganda. The Pope's Nuncio at Vienna, in obedience to the suggestions of the Austrian Ministry, opposed Tondini's nomination, solely on the ground that it would disturb Servian susceptibilities. It had needed all Strossmayer's energy to overcome the opposition of the Nuncio. "I am Bishop of Servia," he said. "It is my duty to send religious help when I am asked for it: I know it will not create any disturbance at Belgrade. I have appointed Tondini; I cannot recall him without being unfaithful to my mission." It was in vain that the Nuncio threatened to appeal to Rome; he was compelled to yield.

The railway keeps almost always alongside of the road in the middle of the Morava valley, where the ascent is insensible. I am no longer astonished that the line to Nisch was finished in two years; there are no engineering triumphs, neither embankments, nor cuttings. The company, which has been paid more than six thousand pounds per kilometre, must have gained a great profit.

We supped at Bagredan, in a *mehana*, inn, kept, as everywhere, by a Tzintzar. We were served with the special national dish, *kissala tcherba*, that is "sour soup." It was a kind of sour broth, made from boiled fowl, which, cut in pieces, still floated in its midst. I found it excellent: then came roast mutton and French beans, cooked with cream. The wine of this neighbourhood resembles that of Macon. I was prepared to fast; I was, therefore, agreeably surprised to find the Servian cooking so good, and the bill to pay so astonishingly moderate. It is true that in the *mehanas* the price of everything is fixed by an official tariff, as at our railway stations. They are public and privileged enterprises. A first-class *mehana* pays a special tax of £12, a second-class £10, and a third £8. The number of rooms that each *mehana* ought to have is also regulated according to its class. If the hotel overcharges a traveller, it is liable to lose its license. A permission is also required before a café or a drinking saloon can be opened. There is no country where the laws have been so universally and consistently enforced. It is not for the traveller to complain. In these times of increasing drunkenness it would be well finally to limit everywhere the number of drinking places.

During the night we passed two important places—Yagodina and Tchoupria. They resembled small Austrian towns, but had no remarkable features. In the morning we breakfasted at Alexinatz. The town had been half burned by the Turkish shells during the last war. They took advantage of this to improve it: pretty bright houses, streets planted with trees, many shops and cafés, and, by the side of a little affluent of the Morava, an immense and

magnificent brewery. I repeat again here that this irresistible conqueror, Gambrinus, the god of beer, has invaded the domains of Bacchus.

We mounted a hill which overlooks Alexinatz. A pyramid has been erected there in honour of the Russian volunteers who were killed in the bloody battles which were fought in the neighbourhood. At our feet opens the valley of the Bulgarian Morava, through which the Turkish army from Nisch advanced: during three days fierce combats were continued. We still see on the heights around us the embankments which protected the Servian batteries. In the direction of Stalatch, to the north-west, at the foot of the high mountains, we catch a glimpse of the confluence of the Servian and Bulgarian Morava.

The Servians have been reproached with being badly beaten in the last war with the Turks. The heroic bravery which they displayed in the struggles of 1805 to 1815, in which they achieved their independence, was said to be no longer apparent. This reproach seems to me unfounded. When the Servians made flying skirmishes, like the Montenegrins, they showed equal courage; but when, in the open field, a militia, badly armed and manœuvred, was opposed to the regular tactics of old soldiers, having better guns and cannon, it was impossible that they should conquer.

Stuart Mill remarks that the loss and ruin occasioned by a fire or a war are repaired with great speed when the productive forces of the nation are not worn out. Alexinatz adds another proof of the truth of this statement, which has just been added to that given by the wonderful resurrection of France after 1870.

On the way to Nisch we were two hours driving on an immense plain, very fertile, covered with maize and corn, but without a house or a tree. We are entering a territory lately occupied by the Turks: the neighbourhood of Turkish towns is always deserted, because the cultivators dare not settle there on account of the exactions of the governors and the robberies of the soldiers.

In 1840 this whole district was ravaged by the Turks.

The *Hatti-Scheriff* of Gulhané had granted equal rights to all the Sultan's subjects, Christians and Mussulmans. Great joy of the *rayas*, fury and indignation of the Turks, who wished to take advantage of their power to crush out those to whom equality had been granted. Their requirements redoubled; they overwhelmed the unhappy peasantry with exactions and insults, and carried off their daughters. The Bulgarians, driven beyond endurance, rose and valiantly repulsed the first attack, but they were dispersed by the help of artillery. The *Pachalik* of Nisch was completely devastated; 225 villages were burned and destroyed, and the inhabitants who escaped instant massacre fled to the forests of Servia. It was in vain that the unhappy refugees begged for help from the Czar Nicholas and the Prince of Servia. Not one voice was raised on their behalf. A well-cultivated district became a desert. Is it astonishing that we only find villages far away from the roads in all countries that have lately belonged to the Turks?

Nisch has already the look of a Hungarian town. After its cession to Servia, the Mussulmans emigrated, and their houses, all of wood, were sold at a low price. The Municipality has destroyed them to make wide streets, where are new stone houses and shops with an air of the West. I went to pay my respects to the French Consul, who lived in a Turkish house in the middle of a pretty garden, on the banks of the Nischava. Nothing any longer recalls the Ottoman rule, except some rich Turks, who have returned to sell their property. Here is the wife of one going into her dwelling. It might be a ball of violet silk; two servants followed her, also enveloped in their *feredjes*.

The only remarkable building in Nisch is a great fortress which dates from the conquest; it now serves for barracks. It is incredible how, since the recent annexation with Servia, everything is transformed and has taken a Western look. Nothing astonished me more than our hotel; it was a building so large that in the quadrilateral formed by its dependencies it enclosed a large garden with trees and

flowers, where we supped in the open air, with a numerous company, enjoying the music of the Hungarian Tchardas. The rooms were clean, even elegant. An immense café, with a billiard-room, was full of people. All the beds were taken. Nisch has already become an important commercial centre; by the way of Lescovatz it receives the products of Macedonia—wool, leather, skins—and also some stuffs and hardware from England, imported by Salonica. At Nisch, the railway, on which we see an engine, will have two branches: one will go by Pirot and Sofia to the already opened line of Sarambey-Constantinople; the other by Vrania Mitrovitz-Salonica, either at Varosch or at Uskub.

The doctor of the department came to sup with us. He gave me details as to the working of the famous sanitary laws that I have previously discussed, and as to the manner of life of the people. He said: "The Servian willingly obeys the law, when he believes that his interest is intended. Thus compulsory vaccination never meets with opposition. It is done without charge; but the doctors of the districts and communes receive four-pence for each case, which interests them in carrying out the law. Our people are very healthy and robust. Although maize is the principal food, the Italian *pellagra* is unknown here, because our peasants all eat pork, mutton, and plenty of salt: salt is an excellent thing, and very lightly taxed. We consume already ten kilogrammes of salt per head, two of sugar, half a kilogramme of coffee. Does not that show a certain comfort? What weakens our cultivators is the fast days, whole or partial, which occur almost every other day. They observe them more strictly than their attendance at church, even on Sunday."

Although the roads were perfectly safe, yet when I left Nisch for Pirot, the *préfet* and the departmental doctor accompanied us in their carriage as far as the next stage, and two gendarmes on horseback preceded us—another kindness of M. Pirotchanatz. A little way from the town they made me get out and took me to examine a very

strange monument, which seemed to be the ruins of a Roman tower. It was made of a singular concrete; one would think it was of large white stones embedded in cement. I went near, and saw that these stones were human skulls. I am reminded of a heroic incident in the War of Independence. In 1809 the Servians attacked the Turks not far from here, in the village of Kamenitza, and were defeated. Their chief, Singgelitch, withdrew into a fort on the Vojnik, and when the enemy carried the entrenchments he blew it up. The assailants and the heroic band were buried together under the ruins. The victorious Pacha thought to overawe the people by building the tower of skulls—*Kele-kalessi*. The surroundings are in contrast to this horrible monument. In 1860 Mahmoud Pacha had erected a pretty white marble fountain, with inscriptions from the Koran. The water has favoured the growth of a fine clump of graceful willows. Little by little the frost and the peasants are carrying away the remains of this ill-omened tower. It will disappear unless it is taken care of. Not long ago the *rayas* wished it; would it not be more worth while to keep it now that they are set free, to inspire them with the horror of foreign domination? In any case a marble slab should be set up which would commemorate the exploit of Singgelitch.

The road to Pirot first follows the Nischava; but soon the river sinks into a terrible gorge, dominated by the steep slopes of the Gufjanska-Planina. The railway will have to go through this. The engineers who have examined it were much impressed: there is not even a footpath, and the torrent rushes over the fallen rocks. We passed to the right an outspur of the Suva-Planina, an imposing mass of mountains, wooded below, but terminating in sharp peaks, quite covered with snow. To speak accurately, it is here that the Balkans begin; for by the Suva-Planina the chain is continued eastward as far as the Black Sea, where it ends in Cape Emineh. I could think myself in the Tyrolese Alps, if the fir trees were not completely wanting. The woods, as in Bosnia, are of oak, beech, and

ash ; but large trees are rare ; they have been cut down everywhere in the vicinity of the roads.

When the *préfet* of Nisch and the departmental doctor left us, they entrusted us to *Sreski-natchalnik, sous-préfet* of Ak-Palanka, M. Stankovitch, who had come to meet us, wearing the old Servian costume, with a large belt in which were pistols and *yatagans*—a whole arsenal. He was a handsome man in the graceful dress of a hussar ; he rode a good Russian horse that he bought in the last war. We talked of the district as he trotted lightly by the carriage. "It is," he said, "one of the wildest in Servia ; it is inhabited only by shepherds, who take their flocks to the mountains. In these narrow gorges there is no space for cultivation ; but wild animals abound—the lynx, bear, wolf, eagle, and all kinds of birds of prey. Bear-hunting is one of my amusements." I remarked on the absence of large trees in the forests I had seen. "You are right," he said. "Servia was formerly covered with magnificent forests of oak and beech : they disappear as the population increases. In 1839 Milosch had found it necessary to enact severe laws to preserve them. Since then, in 1847 and 1867, our Assembly has passed still more rigorous ones, giving the State the absolute right of control. But how can it be carried out ? The peasants have always had their fire and building wood from the forests of the State and the Commune, and this cannot be prohibited. The only thing is to convince the people of the bad effects of destroying the woods, especially in the mountains. If you would see fine forests you must go to the peninsula of Krajna, formed by the bend of the Danube, between the Pek and the Timok. Do not forget that more than one-third of our land—about four millions of hectares—is still wooded."

We arrived at Ak-Palanka about noon. It is a small village with a few houses. High mountains rise on all sides. We feel far away from everything in this hidden nook, in the midst of the Balkan Peninsula. The *mehana* is of primitive simplicity. The three compulsory beds are there, but they are wide wooden forms, on which one



would have to spread a carpet before sleeping: however, everything is very clean. The walls are white-washed, and upon a fine linen table-cloth, embroidered and trimmed with lace, they served a *kissala tcherba* soup, roast mutton, a fowl, salad, and good Nisch wine; then Turkish coffee. We were three with the *sous-préfet*, and I paid 3s. 4d. for the whole.

Before us rose the ruins of an old Turkish fortress. This *karal* commanded the passage, which was of great strategic importance, for the road attaching Servia to the Ottoman Empire ran through here. But Ak-Palanka can no longer be called, as formerly, a fortified place. The gate, left open, is of a graceful Arab character, like that of the Alhambra. The court is full of ruins, amongst which I noticed a capital that seemed Roman. From the remains of the ancient walls barracks for the pandours have been built, and a *konak* for the *sous-préfet*. It is a building of one story; but his young wife had arranged a charming drawing-room, with carpets and bear-skins on the floor; photographs and engravings ornamenting the walls; sofas, easy-chairs; and flowers in the windows. This oasis of cultured taste in the midst of this wild scenery and steep and desolate mountains produced a great impression. We were offered, according to the general custom of Servia, preserve, that is taken with a small spoon into a crystal cup, and accompanied by a glass of water. Madame Stankovitch, who spoke French and German equally well, besides Servian, complained of their absolute solitude in winter, when, for months together, the country is covered with snow, and they hear in the night the howling of the wolves. Bears are still numerous in the neighbouring mountains. I admired the superb skins of these animals on the floor, killed by the *sous-préfet*.

What a change when the steam-engine comes near here on the banks of the Nischava!

The *sous-préfet* went with us to the place where the hussars of Pirot were to meet us, and we were delighted with his kind escort and instructive conversation.

The *préfet* of Pirot sent his *pissar* (secretary) to bid us welcome. Although he came on horseback, he was in official dress—white cravat and black coat, ornamented with decorations and medals, testimonies to his courage in the War of Independence. The hussars, who preceded him, had a savage look. How different from the gentlemanly-looking gendarmes of Nisch!

The secretary pointed out to us a group of shepherds in the middle of a field, with an immense flock of sheep and goats. We went up to them: they had made a hut of branches, in which they had passed the night, and where they were making cheese from the milk, *pressi copia lactis*. It is the flock of a village, shared together, as in the Swiss cheese-making *fromagerus*. The family communities, or *zadrugas*, are still numerous in this neighbourhood.

There are several *zadrugas* at Gnilan, a small village half an hour to the left of the Nisch road, at the gates of Pirot. The departmental authorities encourage the formation of new *zadrugas*, and the preservation of those already established. Here is a *zadruga* of twenty-four persons. The grandfather, Djenko Thodorovitch, is *starechina*. He has three married sons, and two unmarried ones; the remainder of the family is composed of daughters-in-law and little children. This *zadruga*, considered to be very poor, owned twenty *plougovas*—a measure rather less than a hectare—of land, 60 sheep and goats, 8 oxen, 2 horses, and 3 pigs.

The *zadruga* pays a tax of £10 to the State. Under the Turkish rule it paid the *dime* and the *devchak* (tax of a ninth paid to the *Bey*, or lord), and that was much heavier than the tax. The members of this *zadruga* observe scrupulously the Lenten fast, which corresponds with the Catholic Lent, and they fast every Wednesday and Friday. Their ordinary food is milk and cheese, with meat occasionally. The rye-bread is very well made, and good. They received us by offering us *sarmas*—mincemeat cooked in vine leaves—and very good wine, all served upon a little round table, fifteen centimetres in height, in the Turkish

fashion. The interior of the house was somewhat dilapidated; there were three rooms—one for meals, and the others for sleeping and other domestic uses: there was no floor, only beaten earth. The costume was thoroughly Bulgarian. The *slava* of the *zadruga* was St. Arandjel. The customs of this *zadruga* are the same as in Croatia.

On descending the mountain, a vast plain was suddenly unrolled at our feet, surrounded by hills. It was cultivated, but bare, without trees or houses. Towards the middle, on the banks of a river fringed with willows, rose a perfectly white town, with tall minarets and an old fortress; it is Pirot, chief town of the second province given to Servia by the Treaty of Berlin. The *préfet* came to take us to our *mehana*, and to show us the town. His name was Drobniak. He is of a race of heroes. His grandfather was the Probationer of Milosch. They swore brotherhood at the altar, before the pope (Eastern priest), letting their blood flow together; and they fought together everywhere against the Turks, at Tchatchak, Yagodina, and Krujevat. His father had been the intimate friend of Prince Michael. He was himself formerly deputy for Grotshka, and has become, since the annexation, *natchalnik*, *préfet*, here. Pirot still retains the appearance of a Turkish town. Its streets have low open shops on both sides; in some we see the artisans at work, in others the merchant sits cross-legged amidst the wares he has for sale. All the Turks have emigrated; only three or four of the richest have returned. The mosques and the bath, the *Hiamam*, are also falling into decay. The famous question of the *vakoufs* still remains to be settled with the Porte for the two annexed provinces. They will become the property of Servia, but not without an indemnity to the Government at Constantinople, which must be fixed.

The principal church of the Eastern Rite is very interesting. It is old, and has some wood carvings, icons, and pictures which look to have come from the Middle Ages. It is, however, very small for a town of 14,000 souls.

Perhaps they do here as in the *zadrugas*: some members

of the family go to Mass for all the rest: the church has neither bell nor steeple, nothing to show what it is; a high windowless wall conceals it completely from the passers-by. Islamism was so fanatical, that the Christians had to hide their places of worship.

The *natchalnik* pointed out with pride that education was being at once provided for. Here is the primary school in a charming Turkish house, with a verandah and ceiling of carved wood. Upon the walls, maps, pictures of natural history, and even of human anatomy! Further away there is a gymnasium, for which the town and the department have voted the supplies. The best pupils receive a scholarship of twenty-four dinars (about nineteen shillings) a month, and some books. There are 700 pupils to a population of 14,000. In the little shops, I noticed a crowd of dyers and sellers of woollen thread of the nicest and purest colours.

The chief local industry of Pirot is the manufacture of a special kind of carpet, which bears the name of the place. They are of "low warp," without pile, thin, therefore, but strong, and alike on both sides. The designs, in which red, white, and blue preponderate, are in very good taste. The colours formerly were indestructible; unfortunately they have begun to use aniline dyes, which do not last. In almost every family the women make these carpets entirely by hand, without even a shuttle. The warp is held perpendicularly, and the stooping worker passes into it the thread of the weft, without any pattern, and as it were by inspiration. She can only gain 3d. or 4d. for twelve hours of work. Certainly here, far from the markets, prices are fabulously low. A fowl is 5d.; a turkey, 1s. 3d.; ten eggs 1½d. These are still the prices of the Middle Ages. The influx of precious metals in the sixteenth century, and the gold mines of Australia and California, have not exerted any influence here. Economists often speak of the rise of prices as universal. Far from that; it is a phenomenon limited until now to the Western countries. Railways and the growth of the population will make it gradually

more general before the close of the century, and in the proportion in which prices rise in these far-off places will they need more precious metals to effect their exchanges. The Pirot carpets are very cheap for their quality—about eight or ten shillings the square metre. They are made any size, to order. They are generally used in Servia, Bulgaria, and even Turkey: but Bulgaria, to encourage their manufacture within herself, and perhaps also to revenge the loss of a district which she considered her own, has imposed a high duty on these carpets, accompanied also, they say, by all kinds of vexations.

In many open shops we may see the workmen hammering at the disc-shaped mass of silver buckles on which they work Byzantine designs in very good taste.

We are here in a region of mixed races. The *préfet* told me that the language is Servian, flavoured with Bulgarian, but it is more Bulgarian than Servian. The peasants' dress is Bulgarian—tight trousers of coarse white cloth, to which the stockings are fastened with straps which meet those of the *opankas*, a red belt, and a large sheepskin hat. The women wear, over the long tunic, two black woollen aprons, one behind and one before, a kind of diadem of bright colours on the head, and they all have flowers either in their coiled hair or in the long tresses which hang down the back. Some of them still have the loose trousers of the Turkish women. The *guzla* has three cords, as in Bulgaria, instead of one, as in Servia.

The language of the schools was Bulgarian under the Turks. Most of the family names end in *of*; only, they are beginning to change this Bulgarian termination to *itch*, in the Servian fashion. Geographically, it is attached to Nisch rather than to Sofia. First, it is nearer; and in the second place, both are on the banks of the Nischava. However, this country has always been considered as Bulgarian, and it is certainly more so than it is Servian: the sympathies of the people are for Bulgaria, as was seen recently when Prince Alexander's army occupied Pirot. In the schools the children are drilled for two hours every day

in gymnastics and military exercises by retired officers. Now they are passing by, headed by a clarion: they have to enter the militia afterwards, and so the standing army is considerably decreased. Even the students who are to be ecclesiastics have also to learn the management of arms.

I saw a goatherd pass by with large pistols in his belt. He had a flock of long-haired goats, like those of Thibet: they are sheared like sheep, and their skin, with its thick hair, makes a very beautiful fur. Goat's hair is woven into a kind of smooth carpet, and into very strong sacks for oats, that may be seen everywhere on the backs of the pack-horses. It costs only 8d. a kilo, which is very little. At Pirot, 200 families weave cotton, which comes from Salonica. The trade from here takes the direction of Vrania, and the railway to Salonica, rather than towards Sofia. Butter and cheese are sent in large quantities to Constantinople. In this neighbourhood we find chiefly grass land: in several communes there is scarcely any arable land; everything comes from the flocks.

Boundary walls are constructed in a most primitive manner. Stakes are fixed into the ground, to which cross-bars are fastened, and the interstices are filled up with beaten clay; and, to prevent the rain from washing away this inexpensive wall, it is covered all along with a little roof of thatch. However, they have begun to make burnt bricks, which cost more than sixteen shillings a thousand: with the low wages here they could be made at half price by the Belgian method. The new houses are built of bricks. The inhabitants of the town, who are old and well off, are wrapped in large *cafetans*, lined and trimmed with fox-skin; they wear a *fez*, and have the gravity and calm of Turks.

Funeral rites are more observed here than at Belgrade. A special cake, called *panaia*, is prepared for the occasion, and on the anniversaries the favourite food of the deceased is distributed to the poor. The cake of the *slava*, patron saint, is called *kolievo*. I tasted a cake made of maize; it was really good, and was very superior to the Italian *polenta* (cake made of maize).

Near the Turkish bridge across the Nischava, the variety of forms, colours, and costumes, and the small shops filled with bright-coloured wools make a brilliant picture. The women still occasionally wear Turkish trousers of rose colour or light yellow: their belts are fastened by immense copper or silver buckles of fine workmanship. The number of goldsmiths making them in sight of the public is considerable: all the peasants of the neighbourhood come to buy them here. The men have thick white woollen trousers fastened to the stocking with straps (like the barbarians on Constantine's Arch in Rome), and a kind of blouse also of white wool, with a large red belt, and heavy *opankas* on their feet. Before the not very numerous refreshment-rooms I noticed a small barrel, full of black gelatine, intended to grease the axles of the buffalo waggon.

I invited the *natchalnik* to take supper with us at the *mehana*. Fearing that the wine was not good there, he brought us some from Négotine. It was very deep coloured, almost black; it had 30 per cent. of alcohol, and resembled light port, only it had a too strongly marked flavour, which would need to be lessened before it would be appreciated by Western connoisseurs. I prefer the growths of Nisch and the Schoumadia. Servian wines are not made with sufficient care. They have begun to export them; in 1882, 40,000 hectolitres were sold abroad, of which 13,000 went to France.

Servia's 150,000 hectares of vineyards produce about a million hectolitres of wine. At Pirot a litre is sold for 2d. or 2½d., but at Belgrade it is already worth 4d. or 5d.

The *natchalnik* told us that there were no more signs of hostility to the Turks. Toleration is perfect. The Municipality pays the salary of the Mussulman priest, the *hodja*, with an additional pound a month for the support of his mosque. The Jews of Spanish origin are respected, and most of them are in comfortable circumstances, or rich. Thirty or forty families of Tzigane Mussulmans have settled here and become agriculturalists. One has been

made judge. At Négotine a Tzigane is attached to the law court.

The country is quite quiet. The inhabitants are peaceable and crime is rare; for a long time there has only been one criminal in the prison. Pirot will grow rapidly as soon as the railway gets here: already the wooden Turkish houses are being replaced by solid buildings of bricks. The manufacture of carpets will increase rapidly when the West is open for their sale. The striped and tough material which is made here with goat's hair, and which advantageously replaces mats upon the floor, might also become an article of commerce. Lastly, not far from the town are some hot springs as powerful as those of Bania, near Alexinatz; this would be another source of wealth for the neighbourhood. We talked of these things till very late with the *natchalnik* and the postmaster. I was struck with their ardent patriotism: their constant care is the greatness of the Servian nation, which they think is called to take a principal part in the Peninsula.

If I attempt to sum up the impression left upon me by my stay in Servia, and the study of the documents with which I was furnished, I arrive at this conclusion: that the Servian nation is till now one of the happiest of our continent, and possesses all the elements of a brilliant future. It combines all the conditions of true civilization, of that which gives to all morality, liberty, enlightenment, and comfort. Here, local autonomies and communal liberties, closely linked with the past, still survive; whilst in the West they have to be re-made and endowed with new life. The production of wealth is still limited, but every family lives upon its own land. A certain comfort is in the lot of each, and we do not find the distressing contrast, too common at home, of great wealth with extreme poverty. Education is not yet sufficiently diffused, and, as the Government quite understands, it is to this that their efforts must be directed; but poetry and history are brought into the home by the popular songs. The nation governs itself through its representatives, who are elected



by all the ratepayers. Democracy, most frequently attained elsewhere at the price of bloody revolutions, exists here as an ancient institution and hereditary custom : besides, the best laws and most perfect rules of the West are added to help on the march of progress. As I have said, my fear is lest, to imitate the external brilliance of our capitals, which costs us so much in all ways, and creates such serious dangers, they should too suddenly break with the past, at the risk of sacrificing freedom.

Centralization, the energetic action of authority, certainly ensures the more rapid, regular, and uniform advance of a nation, but they weaken the individual initiative and lessen the natural energy of the people by forcibly leading them in a way which is not of their own choosing. This was what the iron hand of Peter the Great did for Russia, and I do not see that she has much to be proud of. The situation of our West is not so enviable as to wish to see reproduced in the Balkan Peninsula the causes which give rise to the difficulties that beset us on all sides.

The great danger for Servia appears to me to be her excessive expenses, chiefly unproductive, and the repeated loans they necessitate. I cannot sufficiently call the attention of the Servian statesmen of all parties to this point. The foreign financiers, as a guarantee for the loans, acquire the right to the produce of certain taxes, and thus gain a power of interference in the internal affairs of the country. When the Turks act thus they shut their eyes to the morrow ; they must have money at any price. But what can be sadder than to see a young State, to whom the future belongs, thus deliver itself into the hands of pitiless bondholders ! No Western State has ever consented to such vassalage. The Egyptian situation will be reproduced here ; the free, proud Servians will be reduced to labour like the *fellahs* for their Western creditors, and if the payment is behindhand, the *Lœnder-bank*, supported by all the Exchanges of Europe, would advise Austria to occupy Servia to raise the heavy tribute

demanding by the Western Shylock. In any case, the constant increase of the taxes will arouse disturbances that would have to be suppressed. Then the freedom of the press and of speech must be lessened, for the organs of the popular feeling would express violent and sometimes revolutionary sentiments of opposition. This would lead to an autocratic rule, for which the country is not prepared, and which could only be maintained by force of arms. It is in Serbia particularly that they should weigh this saying, "Bayonets will do for a support, but they do not make a good seat."

## CHAPTER VII.

### FROM PIROT TO SOFIA—BULGARIAN ETHNOGRAPHY AND HISTORY.

THE journey from Pirot to the capital of Bulgaria is long and difficult, the road is not well kept, and there are neither post-horses nor relays. I had permission to take the Belgrade carriage as far as Sofia; but should we be able to change horses? This was a serious point, for lately M. Queillé, the Controller-General of Finances in Bulgaria, lost one of his here, which died on the road from over-fatigue. On leaving Pirot, in the direction of the Bulgarian frontier, we crossed a well-cultivated plain, which, however, had neither farm buildings nor dwellings. As at Nisch, it is the consequences of the Turkish administration which drove the people to seek refuge in out-of-the-way places. The carriage road we followed was planted with willows; they are Midhat Pacha's sign-manual on all the roads which he made.

Some women were going to work; a black apron and red belt were set in relief by the long white tunic; a red handkerchief, worn Italian-wise, protected the head, and each carried a child in a bag upon her back. Further away a little child was sleeping in a hammock, hung under the willows, guarded by a dog. They were tilling the ground in which the dried stems of maize were still left. The plough was wonderfully heavy and thick; two pairs of oxen drew it by means of a pole which was attached to the

two yokes. I noticed the ultra-primitive make of the wheels in a cart drawn by two buffaloes. The wooden parts which make the circle, or rather, polygon, were fixed at some distance. One would say that they were unfinished, but they are all alike; the coachman told me that it was to give more elasticity.

We entered Bulgaria at the custom-house station of Soukofski-Most. We saw that it was neither history nor geographical configuration, but a treaty, that has traced the frontier line here; nothing indicated it except two posts. As we were travelling in a carriage belonging to the Servian Administration, the Bulgarian gendarmes presented arms, and the custom-house officers did not examine our luggage; but I watched the numerous formalities inflicted upon a Jew who was taking Austrian stuffs from Smederevo to Sofia in a large chariot. What a long journey, and how expensive their carriage! How welcome will the railway be! Up to the present time Servia has kept a very low tariff of duties, which does not exceed from 3 to 5 per cent., and which is also imposed on exports. The Bulgarian tariff is higher, and has protectionist tendencies. Thus wine is liable to 2½d. the *oka* (1 kilogramme and 20 grammes). Therefore wine which is sold at Pirot for 2d., costs from 8d. to 10d. at Sofia.

The custom-house officer told me that the imports from Servia to Bulgaria were chiefly butter and cheese, which were sent to Constantinople; then hemp and rope. However, in 1882 the whole value of the merchandise entering by Soukofski-Most did not exceed £100,000. All the commerce, imports and exports, between Bulgaria and Servia, in the same year, amounted only to £140,000. This is very little. Might it not be said that a "wall of China" separates the two countries? It is true that communication is very difficult. But it would be to the interest of these two neighbouring States to abolish the frontier dues. They never bring more to each State than £1,200, and as there are seven custom-house offices with their staff, without counting the frontier guards, the expense must be

greater than the returns. A real union might be established here, even without a Convention to regulate the tariff, and to divide the receipts. When the Sofia-Belgrade railway is opened, one custom-house, at the Bulgarian frontier, would be enough. But the high and truly national aim which ought to be attempted, both in the interest of the general welfare and that of the future of the Jougo-Slav race, would be to abolish customs between these neighbouring countries. The Exchequer would not object, for the total receipt from custom-house dues in Servia was, in 1883, only about £120,000, from which the cost of thirty-one custom-houses must be deducted. This union for customs would therefore only cause such a slight loss to the Exchequer that it would be of no consequence. Besides, the importing countries, chiefly Austro-Hungary, would approve the suppression of an internal barrier, which embarrasses exchange, and which will trouble them still more when the Belgrade-Sofia-Constantinople railway is finished.

The road was level as far as Tsaribrod, but already to the north and south, and especially towards the east, rose the barrier of the Balkans, covered with brushwood. It is here that the important question of a change of horses will be decided for us. The *préfet* of Pirot sent his secretary with us as far as Sofia to help us through any difficulty, but although this dignified and obliging official wore his black coat and all his decorations, he could only get one horse, and we required three or four. We therefore kept our own in spite of all risks.

At Tsaribrod I thought myself suddenly in Russia. There was a thoroughly Russian sign-board, Dimitri Bochkoff; it belonged, however, to a Bulgarian. The *sous-préfet* who came to welcome us, was dressed in white, like Skobeleff, whom he resembles. His great Russian beard was spread out fan-wise. He had a white cap with a green border, high, strong boots, and he wore his sabre attached to a bandoleer in the Russian fashion. His hussars, with their loose trousers, brown jackets, braided with black, and astrakan caps, had a very martial look.

The little town consists of one wide street, having on each side wooden houses and low open Turkish shops, but already some houses of one story have been built in brick, and, what is a pleasure to see, a school, quite new. Happy omen for the future ! I invited the *sous-préfet* to dine with us in the *mehana*. It was well white-washed, and everything was very clean, but there was no furniture. In the two bedrooms, nothing at all ; instead of a bed was a platform, upon which the traveller could arrange his carpets and cushions when he wished to sleep. Upon the walls were pictures representing saints of the Orthodox Rite, and a larger one, where we saw Alexander “*knèze* of Bulgaria,” two lions rampant were presenting him with some verses, and lower down, two women in chains, Macedonia and Thrace, were imploring his help, also in verse, to deliver them from the Ottoman yoke.

It is in this neighbourhood that the Russians still keep their popularity. I noticed everywhere, besides pictures of saints from Moscow, portraits of the heroes of the last war, the Emperor Alexander, Prince Nikita of Montenegro, Skobeleff, Gourko, and Kiréeff. I know of nothing more heroic than the death of Kiréeff. The eminent English historian, Froude, has written an account of it in a preface to “Russia and England,” a book by Madame Olga de Novikof (“O. K.”), the sister of this martyr in the Slav cause.

The *sous-préfet* came from Sistow, and was in the last war against the Turks. He is enthusiastic about Gourko. “If they had listened to him,” he said, “the war would have been ended almost at its commencement, and we should not have seen Russia obliged to concentrate her forces, and only obtaining a victory by the help of the Roumains. Plevna ought to have been guarded by a corps of 50,000 men, instead of attacked and burned, and all the available forces pushed forward so as to support Gourko beyond the Chipka, whilst he marched bravely on Adrianople. At Constantinople they were full of fear. The Sultan was preparing to cross over to Asia ; he would have

recalled Osman Pacha from the rear and thus the campaign would have ended, almost bloodlessly, and with such prestige, that even England would not have dreamed of opposing the complete independence of the Balkan Peninsula. The work is only half done. Now, to complete it, a new war will be necessary."

The *sous-préfet* spoke in German, but he knew a few words of French; at the telegraph office the clerk answered me in that language. In Bulgaria most educated people know it a little. The sign-boards of the coffee-houses bear the word Kaphé instead of Kaphana, as in Servia. We started about one o'clock. "You will be lucky if you get to Sofia to-night," said the *sous-préfet*, "a storm has greatly damaged the road."

The culture was poor about Tsaribrod; the country people were turning up the ground a second time for the maize, which is their principal food. Some oat-fields were overgrown with weeds.

We soon entered the Derwent gorge, following the course of a torrent which flows along its depth. The sides of the ravine are not of perpendicular rocks, but steep slopes, covered with brambles: here and there, standing out against the blue sky, may be seen summits powdered with snow, but neither fir-trees nor rugged cliffs, as in the Swiss Oberland.

The road has been very badly made; it is not defended from the waters, which have undermined it, so that some parts were carried away. We had to take our chance in the bed of the river itself. In another place, what remained of the road was so narrow that we had to unharness the third horse; it was at a rise: the other two stopped; the carriage slipped back—it was at the edge of a precipice. Happily the secretary, gifted with Herculean strength, stopped it by placing a heavy stone under the wheel, a good lash of the whip and we were saved. Further on, a bridge, the only one we found, was made of beams laid together and covered with soil; but one of them had given way, and there was a yawning chasm. Here again we

crossed without accident. It must be remembered that this is the great road by which Servia communicates with Sofia and Constantinople. It ought to be the most important in the Peninsula; there is no other exit for all the migrations, expeditions, armies, and postal and administrative messengers. For all that has been done to this road we are again indebted to Midhat, still, a month had elapsed since the storm that did all this damage, and no repairs had been commenced. This does not seem to indicate a strong desire on the part of Bulgaria to facilitate relations with Servia. It is true that quite recently this was Turkey, and that is enough to explain everything.

We waited a few minutes to let the horses get breath before a *han*, the only human dwelling that we had seen during the four hours that the journey up this inauspicious gorge lasted. We went in to have a small glass of *slivovitza*. I thought I was entering a cavern. Under foot, the beaten ground was covered with bones and all kinds of remnants, the timber and all about the roof was blackened by the smoke and soot from an iron stove without chimney or external outlet. There was neither chair nor table, but some heavy stools; upon the walls of undressed stone, as black as the rest, hung some sheep-skins recently flayed, which smelt horribly. The landlord and his wife were as dark as their surroundings. They lived here, in this wild desert, on the produce of two acres planted with maize, and a small flock of sheep and pigs, which fed in the neighbouring mountains. They are Tzintzars, and they are said to have £4,000 of their own. It is truly said that the Tzintzar is as economical as he is hard-working. A little further on I picked up a large tortoise, which became our travelling companion. I was astonished to find one at that height, but the coachman said they were not rare.

At last we reached the Dragoman Pass. The road left the stream, which it had followed so far, and ascended in very steep zig-zags. The bare red rocks lack grandeur. No fine mountain rears its head; the aspect is desolate and mournful. Arrived at the top, I expected to descend



on the other side ; but no—a vast plain extended further than we could see. It was not pasturage, but waste land : however, from time to time we saw some parts sown with maize. There was no house to be seen along the road, only, far away, screened by some rocks which bound the plain towards the north, I perceived some thatched roofs ; it is there that the people conceal themselves.

In this ugly and dreary solitude an object suddenly appeared which recalled civilization in its most charming form : a white marble fountain engraved with verses from the Koran. Two little girls, from the poor hidden village, were there, filling vases of coarse pottery, but elegant shape, with water. I went to drink, but the children hid their faces and fled, frightened. There was exemplified the strong contrast between the religious ideal of Islamism and the political and administrative reality in Turkey ! Like Christianity, the Koran recommends mankind to carry out works of usefulness. Doubtless some pious Mussulman remembered that he had wanted water on the Dragoman Pass, and had left some of his wealth as *vakouf*, to keep up a fountain there. It is thus everywhere in Mussulman countries, we find, under the shade of magnificent trees, these gracious monuments, which offer their beneficent waters to the animals and people thirsty from the heat, and to the faithful for their ablutions ; but, at the same time, the ground is neglected, the people are invisible, and the women flee at the approach of strangers. The judicial and administrative system is so detestable that it ruins the country.

The road from Tsaribrod to Sofia is badly made and kept up. The waters rush down the pathways and banks, and make large puddles all along the wayside, for want of a drain that should be laid under the carriage road. It would require very little money, only care and intelligence. A good civil engineer is wanted here. When I heard that all relating to the roads had been entrusted to a Russian officer I was no longer surprised.

After having trotted our tired horses for more than an

hour on the crest of the Dragoman we saw a boundless plain open before us, which seemed to be seven or eight leagues long, and two or three wide. It was flat, barren, and the colour of dried grass: neither tree nor house could be seen, except a point of dazzling whiteness in the centre, which was Sofia. If this vast depression had not been surrounded by an unbroken circle of hills, I should have thought myself in an African desert. Rarely can a better example of what physical geographers call table-land be found. Since leaving Tsaribrod we had been ascending for five hours to gain the summit of the pass, and here was this immense plain almost on the same level. It seemed like the bottom of a former lake; it is situated to the north of the Great Balkans, and if the Isker had not forced a passage through a sort of fissure, the only one in the chain, the whole table-land of Sofia would be still under water.

It was six in the evening when we arrived at Slivnitza, and it would take four hours more to travel over the thirty-two kilometres which still separated us from Sofia.

Both the horses and ourselves needed refreshment, but they were better off than we. Oats and hay were not lacking, whilst we found nothing in the *han*, kept as usual by the Tzintzars. We could get nothing but polenta, made from maize, some morsels of cold mutton, a horrible mass of grease covered with flies, and some very bad wine. Fortunately the Tzintzar threw his net into the small stream flowing through the village and caught a dish of gudgeons.

The interior of the inn was almost as repulsive as that of the fearful hut of the Derwent. In a large room, blackened with smoke, upon the beaten clay that formed the floor, was no furniture except wooden tables and forms; in a corner, screened by a grating, we caught a glimpse of the innkeeper, and, on the shelves, of some bottles of *slivovitza* and *raki*. In the common bedroom for those who stay the night; there was absolutely nothing, except some badly joined planks, in the shape of a form along the wall; there, wrapped in a cloak, one would lie down for the night. It

is only in Spain, in Galicia, that I ever remember to have seen isolated *posadas* as destitute of everything as the *han* of Slivnitza. If I relate these details it is to show in what a state the Ottoman Administration left the principal road of this district. The one from Sofia to Lom-Palanka, on the Danube, by Berkovitza, is neither easier nor better provided with the requirements of travellers. It is true there are not many; since we left the Servian frontier we did not meet one carriage, chariot, or foot passenger—literally, not a single person.

The road which runs in a straight line from Slivnitza to Sofia was in very bad condition, although it traverses only level ground. When darkness came on, and we saw the lights of the town afar off, we were brought to a sudden standstill: a swollen stream, which had hollowed a deep bed in the clayey soil, between steep banks, had washed the bridge away, and we were preparing to spend the night in the carriage when the coachman discovered a ford lower down, in the meadows. We had to add our exertions to those of our exhausted horses to drag the coach out of the bed of the river.

We did not get to Sofia until eleven at night. There, after a long drive of sixteen hours, I was able to rest, enjoying all the comfort of the most refined French hospitality in the house of M. Queillé. It was like a dream, after this rough passage of the Balkans, and habitations like dens, to be suddenly taken into an artistic home, with Eastern carpets and hangings, with Persian tapestry, rare arms, water-colour drawings, pictures, books, and all the refinements of Parisian life.

I intended to learn the ethnography and history of these countries, and during my stay in Sofia I therefore talked much with M. Jiretschek, the eminent Czech literary man, who has written the best history of Bulgaria, and who had been appointed by the Government to preside here over the organization of public education. The history of the Bulgarians is interesting, because during eight centuries and upon many battle-fields the rousing question has been dis-

cussed. To whom shall Constantinople belong—to the Greeks or to the Slavs?

The Bulgarians, of Turanian race, came across the Danube from the banks of the Volga in the fifth century. They settled in the eastern side of the Peninsula, and intermingled with the Slavs, whose language and customs they adopted, just as the Franks of Germanic race, after their conquest of Gaul, became Frenchmen, of neo-Latin language. In the year 559 the Bulgarian armies appeared on the shores of the Ægean; and besieged Constantinople which was saved by Belisarius. "The kingdom of the Bulgarias," founded by Asparoukh at the end of the seventh century, having Preslav for its capital, became so powerful under the Czar Kroum, that he forced Byzantium to pay him tribute, that he occupied Adrianople, and signed a treaty of alliance with Charlemagne. The Czar Michael Boris was converted to Christianity in 864, and constituted a Church, which long maintained its national autonomy, without acknowledging the supremacy either of Rome or of Constantinople. During the ninth and tenth centuries the Bulgarians struggled victoriously with the Magyars in the north, and the Greeks in the south. They were then at the height of their power. Czar Simeon took the title of "Emperor of the Bulgarians and of the Wallachians, Despot of the Greeks, *Imperator Bulgarorum et Blacorum*." He completely defeated the Byzantine armies, took possession of the suburbs of Constantinople itself, and reigned over the whole Peninsula, 893–927. In his capital, Preslav or Predslava, the ruins of which may still be seen near Schoumla, admiration was aroused by superb palaces, where the Emperor held his court with the Asiatic pomp borrowed from Byzantium, and marble churches with metal cupolas, built by Grecian architects in imitation of St. Sofia.

The conflict between the Bulgarians and Byzantium continued with varied success until the arrival of the Turks. The Bulgarian Czars several times repeated the exploits of Simeon and utterly defeated the Greeks. The first was Samuel Chichman, whose authority extended from the

Adriatic to the Black Sea, and from the Danube to the Ægean. He assumed the title of Emperor of the Slavs, as though he had already conceived the idea of a State founded upon unity of race, 976. The brilliant dynasty of the Asennides, which had Tirnova for capital, ended with Michael in 1257. In 1379, in a firman still kept in the Monastery of Rilo, Johannes Chickman, like Simeon, assumed the title of "Autocrat of all the Bulgarians and Greeks." For two centuries, 1018 to 1196, Bulgaria was only a Byzantine province, but Kaloyan restored the Bulgarian Empire and decided the defeat, near Adrianople, of the army of the Crusaders commanded by Baldwin. Joance-Asen II. (1218-1241) reigned over almost the whole Peninsula, compelled the Patriarch to recognize the autonomy of the Greek Bulgarian Church, and besieged Constantinople, which was saved by the Italians in 1236.

The Tartars arrived soon afterwards and ravaged the whole country horribly; then came the Turks, who crossed the Bosphorus and invaded the Peninsula. If Greeks, Bulgarians, and Servians could have united, they might perhaps have driven them back into Asia; but they continued to make war with each other to the end.

The Servians, under their great Emperor Dushan, joined with the Bulgarians, threatened Constantinople, and seemed on the eve of constituting a powerful State, 1356; but, for want of an administrative organization, nothing lasting could be established. The Servians were defeated in the decisive battle of Kossovo in 1389, and Tirnova, the Bulgarian capital, was taken by Tchelebi, son of Bajazet, in 1393. The Turkish domination began, and the Bulgarian Church, losing its autonomy, fell again under the authority of the Greek Patriarch. The Bulgarian nationality had apparently ceased to exist.

When we are taught the history of the Middle Ages we are told little of what passed in these regions, and yet there is a great future in store for these peoples. At the sight of these thousands of years of incessant and confused wars between Greeks, Servians, Bulgarians, and Magyars, we

shudder yet once more at the folly of men who fight for provinces when there is room enough for all to live and thrive in peace, and we ardently desire that the present generation may learn to understand this. Thanks to liberty and local autonomies, it is possible to constitute a State where different nationalities may co-exist and develop without teasing or harming each other, as in Switzerland, Belgium, and the United States. Why, then, are there now these rivalries, hatreds, and efforts at supremacy amongst these peoples who ought to unite? Another important fact stands out clearly in the history of the Bulgarians; it is that under the combined influences of Byzantium and Christianity they had risen, in the Middle Ages, to a degree of civilization only slightly inferior to that of the West. But after the invasion of the Tartars and the Turks it was all destroyed. Another fact to be noticed is the courage shown by the Bulgarian armies both against the Greeks and the Hungarians.

How far are the Servians and Bulgarians of one race and language? On this point chiefly depends the question whether a great Jougo-Slav State can be established in the Peninsula. M. Jiretschek, who has thoroughly studied everything relating to Bulgarian history, spoke to me of the relationship existing between the Bulgarian language and the other Slav dialects. "Certainly," he said, "it is closely allied to Servian; a Servian and a Bulgarian understand each other. The language of the Bulgarians on the banks of the Volga was not Finnish, although that is still said, but Turanian, like the dialect of the Turks, Huns, Magyars, Coumans, and Petchenègues; only but few of the elements of the present dialect come from it, much less than the French took from the Frank. The distinguished Slavist, M. Miklovitch, is occupied in determining the proportion of Turanian which has entered into the Slav languages.

What distinguishes Bulgarian from Servian, at first sight, is, that it places the article at the end of the words, as in Roumanian, Albanian, and Norse. This peculiarity comes not from the Turanian, but from Illyrian or Thracian, the

former language of the Balkan Peninsula, which still survives in Albania. In the ancient Bulgarian dialects of the Rhodope and Debra, in Macedonia, we find three forms of the final article: thus *glavata*, *glavasa*, *glavana*, as we should say in Latin, *caputhoc*, *caputillud*, *caputistud*. Servian has an accent of quantities; Bulgarian, which does not distinguish between long and short syllables, has a more monotonous sound. Servian has declensions like Russian, Czech, and Polish. The case, in Bulgarian, is shown by the article at the end of the word and by the different prepositions, as in French. The written and printed characters are alike; both use the Cyrillic alphabet, but Bulgarian has, like Russian, final letters which are not pronounced, and Servian has special signs for the soft consonants and the Latin *y*. It would be as difficult to make Portuguese and Spanish, Swedish and Norwegian, into one language as Servian and Bulgarian. The old Bulgarian books are written in ecclesiastical Slavon, but with a large mixture of spoken dialects. After the fall of the ancient Christian kingdoms under the rule of the Turks the influence of the Church continued to diminish. At the literary revival, which dates from the beginning of this century, it was the popular dialect of Eastern Bulgaria, refined by the influence of the old ecclesiastical Slavon, which became the present literary language of Bulgaria. However, above the patois, there exists an official and literary language which is the same in Bulgaria, Roumelia, and Macedonia.

Another very important question: Is Bulgarian a near relation of Russian? M. Jiretchek showed me that in its grammar and its words it is much further removed from Russian than from Servian. In Bulgarian, as in Servian, the past tense of the verbs are formed by suffixes, as in Latin, whilst in the Slav dialects of the North, Russian, Polish, Czech, auxiliary verbs are used, as in French. The accent gives the words a phonetic physiognomy sufficiently different for a Russian soldier to find it difficult to understand a Bulgarian soldier. An educated Bulgarian can read a Russian book without much trouble.

The ancient ecclesiastical Slav, that is, the language of St. Cyril and St. Methodius, which seems to have been spoken at Salonica in their time, has had great influence over all the peoples and dialects of the Orthodox rite; it has supplied them with a common fund of abstract terms to express their religious, moral, and philosophical ideas. The Poles and Czechs, under Latin influence, have a very different vocabulary. A Czech or a Pole would not understand a Bulgarian. The roots of most ordinary words are the same, but in the course of ages they have assumed different forms in the South and in the North. We remember that at the famous Panslavic Congress at Moscow the representatives of the different families of the Slav race who met together were obliged to use French or German before they could understand one another. It is useless to dream of creating a common language, and it is also a chimera to believe that Russian could be imposed upon the Western and Southern Slavs. As Slovene has been constituted distinctly from Croat, with which, nevertheless, it has much in common, it may be thought that it would be as impossible to blend Bulgarian either with Servian or with Russian, as to make Dutch and German into one, or Swedish and Norwegian; but to constitute a federation it is not necessary that all the federated provinces should speak exactly the same language.

The indestructible vitality of Bulgarian nationality is especially shown in its resistance to Hellenization. This forms an important chapter of the history of these countries. After the Ottoman Conquest, the Bulgarian Church, previously autonomous, lost her independence, and till quite recently she bowed to the Greek Patriarch at Constantinople. The Phanar extracted money from Bulgaria in the same way as from Bosnia. The Porte offered the supreme Pontificate of the Eastern Church to the highest bidder, who, to reimburse himself, sold the bishoprics. The bishop, in his turn, sold the parishes to the popes, and the poor *rayas* had to pay the cost of this cascade of simoniacal transactions. All the bishops were Phanariotes, ignorant of and despising



the national dialect. Greek was the language of culture, Turkish that of the Government. Greek was taught in the schools ; the offices of the Church were read in Greek. The Bulgarians, who generally did not understand Greek, were thus deprived of all intellectual culture, and one might have thought for a moment that the country was completely Hellenized. The higher clergy were determined enemies of the national re-awakening. After the Turkish Government had made a law to compel the communes to build schools, the Phanarianote bishops opposed it in all ways. To illustrate this, the words of the Archbishop of Nisch were quoted : " Schools only make heretics. It is much better to spend the money in building churches." It is stated that the Metropolitan of the ancient capital, Tirnovo, ordered the burning of an admirable collection of manuscripts relating to the history of Bulgaria from the seventh to the sixteenth century, which were found in the archives of his cathedral. Nothing can be more unfortunate for a people than to find in its religious chiefs the enemies of its nationality.

An almost unknown fact is pointed out by M. L. Sainson in an article of the *Correspondant* (Oct., 1885). Sarah Vladislavitch, a Slav from Ragusa, presented a translation of Orbini's book, "*Storia del regno degli Slavi*" (Pesaro, 1601), to Peter the Great in 1722, asking him to take the Southern Slavs under his protection, and showing the benefit of such an alliance to Russia. When, in 1807, Peter, the *Vladika* of Montenegro, excused himself to the Maréchal Marmont for preferring the Russian alliance to the French protectorate, the ethnic sentiment of community of race was already awakened in him. " There is for us," he said, " glory and hope only in agreement with our brothers, the Russians ; we will live or die with them. Whoever is their enemy is ours also."

M. L. Léger shows clearly in his recent book " Bulgaria," the origin of the literary awakening amongst the Bulgarians, which there, as elsewhere, was the precursor of the national and political revival. I noticed a curious passage in the book of the monk Paisii (1762), from which M. Léger took

the extracts given by M. Drinoff in the "Revue Bulgare de Braila": "I have seen that many Bulgarians adopt foreign customs and language, and despise their native tongue; I have written for their instruction. O mad nation! why art thou ashamed to bear the name of Bulgaria? Dost thou not think in thy own language? Is it that the Bulgarians have never had a powerful empire? They say the Greeks are a more learned and politic people; then, as there are peoples still more illustrious than the Greeks, they ought also to renounce their nation. There was a time when the Bulgarians were celebrated throughout the world. They have often imposed tribute on the strong Romans and the wise Greeks. The Bulgarians are the most illustrious of all the Slav peoples. They were the first to be baptized, the first to have a patriarch; they made the most conquests, and the first Slav saints were of that race."

It is well to read also, in M. Léger's book, the memoir of Bishop Sophronius, where he describes the state of Bulgaria at the end of the last century, under Pasvan Oglou, Pacha of Widdin, who has made of this province an independent principality on the banks of the Danube.

For more than fifteen years the Bulgarians struggled to regain their ecclesiastical autonomy. They showed remarkable persistence and diplomatic skill; at one time they even turned towards Rome, which hoped to see them accept the situation of united Greeks. Lastly, in 1869, in an imperial firman, the Sultan acknowledged the autonomy of the National Church, under the name of Bulgarian Exarchate, notwithstanding the violent opposition of the Phanar. This firman confers on the Exarch, who lives in Constantinople, and is appointed by the Sultan, authority in all the bishoprics where the population is exclusively Bulgarian. Those of the *vilayets* of Adrianople and Macedonia, where, at the recent census, two-thirds of the inhabitants were found to be Bulgarians, have the right to put themselves under the jurisdiction of the Bulgarian Exarchate. Shortly after the last war the two bishoprics of Velese (Keupruli) and of Ochrida, returned in this way to the Bulgarian

Exarchate, but there still remain nine where the Bulgarian element preponderates, which are vainly asking to be reunited to their National Church. On this point the policy of the Turkish Government is now completely changed, it has deserted the Bulgarians, and upholds the Phanar. It recently appointed two Bulgarian bishops for Macedonia, but it allowed itself to be intimidated by the violent threats of the Greek Church, and the prelates whom it had appointed have not to this day received their investiture (*bérat*).

The Treaty of Berlin guaranteed to the Christians of the Ottoman Empire liberty of conscience and freedom of worship; consequently it gave to the Bulgarians the right to belong to the Church of their choice. Notwithstanding this recent arrangement, and notwithstanding the firman of 1869, which contained the formal promise of the Porte, these unhappy people are still kept under the yoke of Greek bishops, who are leagued against them with the Turks. They shut the schools and the churches built with the savings of the Bulgarians; they imprison or exile their popes, and treat the schoolmasters even worse. All means of moral and intellectual culture are refused them. Is there, then, no Power which will demand the execution of the Treaty of Berlin in this respect, when it is perpetually invoked to oppose the realization of the wishes of the people?

The Bulgarian clergy are ignorant, because formerly the Greek bishops did not wish them to be educated. They live on what they receive for religious services. The peasants, like the Servians, no longer look upon it as a duty to go regularly to Mass, and yet they are much attached to their popes and monks, as representing their nationality.

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## CHAPTER VIII.

### THE BULGARIA OF TO-DAY.

AFTER the signature of the Treaty of Berlin, the Constituent Assembly of Tirnova had given Bulgaria a Constitution as free and democratic as that of Belgium.

Prince Alexander came to Bulgaria full of good-will and devotion to the country over which he was called to reign ; but young, inexperienced, and timid as to the good results of the ultra-Liberal institutions that the Bulgarian people had adopted. From the first he gave his confidence to the Conservative party, represented by MM. Stoiloff, Grecoff, and Natchovitch. These men believed that the Constitution ought to be modified in such a manner as to strengthen the authority of the Government. But such was not the opinion of the people. Thus the elections of 1879 returned an opposition Chamber to sit in Sofia, where, from 170 deputies, the Ministry could only count on 30 at the most. After ten days the session was closed and the Chamber dissolved.

Notwithstanding all the influence set to work by the Ministry, the new Chamber, which met at Sofia on April 4, 1880, was even more opposed to it than the preceding one. The Prince thought he ought to yield temporarily to the will of the country, and he accepted an openly Liberal Ministry, with two very distinguished and popular men, MM. Zankoff and Karaveloff, at its head.

The Conservatives, however, did not think themselves

vanquished. They persuaded the Prince that the Liberal Ministry would endanger the future of the State both at home and abroad, and they hurried on a *coup d'état*. It took place on May 27, 1881, hardly two years after the promulgation of the Constitution of Tirnova, and before it was possible to really appreciate its effects.

The Prince asked the extraordinary Assembly to grant him plenary power for seven years, and the right of proposing a revision of the Constitution. The Russian General, Ehrenrooth, who was made Minister, managed by means of *gens-d'armes* and special commissioners to completely suppress freedom of vote. The Liberals, tracked like wild beasts, abstained from the poll. M. Hitrovo, Consul-General of Russia, brought the Czar's approbation. Notwithstanding, some Liberals were elected; amongst others a distinguished man, M. Balabanoff, at Sofia: they were excluded by the President of the Legislative Assembly, the Sobranje.

The rule which followed was a reproduction of that of December 2nd in France, an effective despotism hidden under a slight varnish of Constitutionalism. A Council of State was formed to replace the Senate, and MM. Natchovitch and Grecoff were recalled to the Ministry. The whole country was in a state of great excitement. Zankoff and Balabanoff, the eminent chiefs of the Liberal party, were received with applause wherever they went. The Ministry hoped to restore tranquillity by sending Zankoff away; he was therefore seized and sent to Vratza. But the end was not attained. This arbitrary conduct only irritated the Opposition. It is a fact very honourable to the Bulgarian character, recalling what happened in Hesse at the time of Hassenpflug, that the high officials headed the remonstrance. Thus, at Sofia, fifty-five of the higher *employés*, amongst whom were the President of the Court of Accounts, almost all the ministerial heads of departments, members of the Court of Appeal, Municipal Councillors, signed a petition to the Council of State asking for guarantees against the arbitrary power of the Government. This act of patriotic courage cannot be too much admired.

To ensure the success of the Ministerial candidates at the elections about to come off they needed Generals. The Czar saw that the situation had become embarrassing, and he sent two very able officers, the Generals Kaulbars and Soboleff. Again managed by the military, the elections were everywhere favourable to the Conservatives, the Liberals being compelled to keep away. But Natchovitch, Grecoff, and the Prince himself soon began a secret war against the Russian Generals. I was told many piquant details on this subject. At the Prince's dinners the Generals came with their aides-de-camp, without having waited for an invitation; at the *soirées* the Prince took no notice of them. He was irritated to see that his Russian Ministers considered him as under their protection. They acted like masters, and intended to manage everything in their own way. The Conservative Ministers endeavoured to force them to retreat by exciting the Opposition against them in the Chamber; but from St. Petersburg it was given to be understood that the mission of Generals Soboleff and Kaulbars was not considered to be completed until MM. Natchovitch and Grecoff had retired.

Exasperated, they pursued the struggle with more bitterness than ever; they even went so far as to join with the Liberals to compel the Russian Generals to leave the country, whilst the Prince steadfastly refused to receive the latter.

Russia understood then that she had made a mistake in favouring the reaction, and the Russian consul, M. Yonine, imposed the re-establishment of the Constitution of Tirnova (August, 1883) upon Prince Alexander. The Conservatives, seeing that there was no hope of success, did everything to obtain the support of the Liberals. M. Zankoff, lately proscribed, became master of the situation. He accepted the power offered to him by the Prince, on condition that the Constitution should be obeyed.

The Russian Generals, Kaulbars and Soboleff, being left without support, sent in their resignation and left Sofia. The Conservatives who had brought them openly rejoiced

over their departure, whilst the Radicals showed them the warmest sympathy.

Russia, evicted, manifested her displeasure by recalling two of the Prince's aides-de-camp, without even telling him; he, deeply wounded, sent back all the Russian officers of his suite, and recalled the thirty-one Bulgarian officers who were studying in Russia. This was open hostility. M. Balabanoff, the best man to fairly represent Bulgaria, was sent as a delegate to the Czar; he was well received at St. Petersburg, and peace was made. The Emperor recalled Colonel Kaulbars, and it was decided that for the future Russian officers in Bulgaria should give their attention exclusively to military matters. To sum up, the result obtained was important; Bulgaria had definitely escaped from the guardianship of Russia, like Western Roumelia.

The union between the two parties who formed the Coalition Ministry did not last long. The Conservatives tried, by influencing the Prince and the Russian Consul, to force M. Zankoff to withdraw; but he was too strong and too popular, and his adversaries were compelled to leave office. Nevertheless, this eminent statesman, who had been the idol of the country when he was sent to Vratza, was defeated at the last election. The advanced Liberal party won the day, and a Karaveloff Ministry was formed. The Prince accepted it unhesitatingly, and loudly declared that he wished to govern only in conformity to the will of the country. The causes of the ebb of M. Zankoff's popularity are said to be his former accordance with the Conservatives, and the pledge he gave to modify the Constitution of Tirnova by creating an Upper Chamber. The people are strongly attached to their Constitution—and rightly so. Since M. Karaveloff's accession to power he has kept the favour of both Prince and people,—a rare thing!

How many overturned Ministries, how many outside alterations, how many sudden changes during the five years that have passed since the birth of Bulgaria! Truly it is too much! it might be said, to be one of the Palais Royal comedies, where the actors are constantly coming in at one

door only to go out at the other. Steadfastness and fixity of purpose is absolutely wanting ; and yet these are indispensable, especially when a country is being endowed with a new organization. The fault lay first with the Prince and his counsellors, who, in spite of the democratic tendencies of the country, meant to govern autocratically. This could have succeeded only if supported by a large army from Russia. The Czar refused to assist this ill-timed attempt at despotism, and he was right, both for the sake of his own popularity among the Slavs of the Peninsula and for the peace of Europe.

I have endeavoured to show how Leopold I. has succeeded in establishing liberty in Belgium, in gaining the admiration of the whole of Europe, and becoming the most popular sovereign of his time, simply by allowing the Belgians to govern themselves.\* I cannot help believing that the Princes who are called to rule in the young States recently formed on the banks of the Danube would do well to study his career, and would gain benefit from his example. It seems to me that this is what the King of Roumania has done, and with the greatest success.

It is absolutely necessary to guard against the method of deprivation practised by some Bulgarian Ministers. The change of the principal officials with each change of the President of the United States is generally admitted to be so serious an evil, that it destroys in a great measure the advantages of democratic institutions. In France, notwithstanding many crises and revolutions, the Administration has always remained excellent, because the officials have generally been retained in their posts. In Belgium, Leopold I. has never consented to dismissals. He had a certain drawer, well known to his Ministers ; it was an oubliette from which all the propositions of which he disapproved never returned. Numerous are the detestable consequences of the system of replacing the former officials by the friends of the Minister who has just succeeded to power. It necessarily makes the officials political partizans, more anxious

\* "Etudes et Essais," par Emile de Laveleye.



to secure the triumph of their party than to work for the public good. It does away with all the benefit which the experience of its officials brings with it to the Administration. Two different parties dispute for power—not that they may better direct the affairs of the country, but rather that they may enrich themselves with the spoils of victory, paid for by the nation. In exchange for the security that you grant the officials, demand from them absolute honesty, assiduous work, the exact fulfilment of their duties, but no political services. Pay them well, rather than increase their number.

In Germany and Austria the Government officials, except only those who have a political character, such as governors of provinces, cannot be deprived of their posts, nor even removed against their will, except as the consequence of an adverse judgment after trial.\*

In Spain, after each change of Ministry, thousands of officials are sent off on half-pay, or without any indemnity, to make room for the friends of the successful party, and those thus dismissed begin immediately to agitate and intrigue until they bring back their own leaders to power.

The young Danubian States are inclined to take Belgium or France for their model. This is a mistake. Society with them is of a rural democratic character, as in Switzerland and Norway. They should imitate the institutions of these countries. Let not the Prince be afraid. Democracies of peasants are ultra-Conservative, always on condition that their pockets are guarded and the taxes not increased.

That which inspires a feeling of sorrow and blame in the history of these six years in Bulgaria is the way in which the aspirants for office have received the help of foreign agents to oppose or overturn their adversaries. Popular opinion ought to condemn such conduct with the greatest severity. To call in the interference of the Great Powers is to betray the country. Any man who is guilty

\* See Ulbrich, "Lehrbuch des Oester-Staatsrecht," pp. 203-234.

of this crime of high treason against his nationality ought to be branded as a traitor.

I cannot pass silently over the statesman who takes just now such a prominent part in Bulgaria. We may be assured that the dignity and the money of the country will be well guarded as long as he holds power, and this is not a small thing when we approach the Black Sea.

The name of Karaveloff is held in the greatest respect throughout Bulgaria. The two brothers, Lubin and Petko, were born at Kopritchitza, a village near Philippopolis. This village gave the signal for the insurrection of 1876.

The eldest, Lubin, was writer and poet; he worked all his life to stir up Bulgaria against the Turkish authority, but he is especially venerated as an ornament of the national literature. His works, novels, romances, poems, which reflect the contemporaneous life of Bulgaria, have become classic; every man who can read studies them or learns them by heart. Many of his expressions have become household words. In his publications, *Svoboda* (Liberty), *Nesavicimost* (Independence), *Znanié* (Science), &c., which were published at Bucharest, he was the first who advocated here the Confederation of the States of the Balkan Peninsula.

He lived in Roumania and Servia as an exile for the greater part of his life, and he only returned to Bulgaria just before the meeting of the National Assembly at Tirnova, at the time of the establishment of the Constitution. He did not live to see Bulgaria free, he died at Rustchuk, at the time of the Russian occupation in 1878. Last year the students of both sexes held demonstrations in his honour. A subscription was opened to raise a monument to his memory.

Petko Karaveloff gave his attention to economic and financial questions; he completed his studies at the Faculty of Philosophy in Moscow in 1871. Being unable to return to his country, then under Turkish rule, he taught history and geography in a higher school at Moscow until the beginning of the last war. He also gave private

lessons in good Moscow families; he knows Russian, French, German, and English, but he speaks the two last with difficulty.

During the Russian occupation he returned to Bulgaria, and was also appointed Vice-Governor of Widdin. In 1879 several divisions elected him as member of the first National Assembly, where he took an active part in the discussion of the Constitution, and we may rest assured that he was the originator of the Constitution of Tirnova, which he defended with zeal and decision by means of the paper which bears that name. After the overthrow of the first Bulgarian Ministry, M. Karaveloff took part in all the Cabinets till 1881; then came the *coup d'état*. He retired to Philippopolis, from whence he continued to direct the National party. During the two years that he spent in that town he filled the office of mayor, and was also Professor of Natural History at the Gymnasium. Thanks to his tact and his varied knowledge, he exerted great influence over Aleko Pacha, which gave a new turn to affairs in Roumelia. He considered Roumelia as called, more certainly than the Principality, to preserve free institutions.

After the Constitution was re-established the elections were in favour of the advanced Liberal party. At the opening of the Chamber Karaveloff and Slaveikoff had a large majority. The Prince decided to entrust Karaveloff with the formation of a new Cabinet. At their first interview the Prince said to him—

“My dear Karaveloff, for the second time I swear to thee that I will be entirely submissive to the will of the people, and that I will govern in full accordance with the Constitution of Tirnova; let us forget what passed during the *coup d'état* and work together for the prosperity of the country.”

And he embraced him.

M. Karaveloff, since his appointment to office, has been able radically to reform all the ministerial departments weakened by the *coup d'état*; the various laws which he has proposed have been carried unanimously. We may

say therefore, without exaggeration, that the present state of things in Bulgaria is due to the initiative of Karaveloff, and that nothing was accomplished except under his inspiration, as later events have proved. His uprightness is acknowledged even by his political adversaries; he is a Liberal Democrat. He loves the Russians; he remembers the sacrifices they made for the independence of his country, but he will not allow any foreign agent to intermeddle with the home affairs of the Principality. He has taken for his motto, "Bulgaria for the Bulgarians," that is to say, Bulgaria free and independent of any foreign influence.

He has, at present, only published one work, "*Commentaires et discussion critique sur la Constitution*," published in the Journal *Naouka* ("Science"), of Philippopolis. The numerous quotations in different languages that he gives in the notes prove how thoroughly he knows the facts and theories of political science.

Formerly he was very negligent as to his appearance; he wore long hair and an untrimmed beard, which gave an excuse to his enemies to denounce him as a Nihilist to the Russian Government. Since his marriage this is altered, and the fear now is lest he should lose by too much elegance.

He is forty-six years of age. His wife has had a thoroughly good education in the Institute for the Daughters of Noblemen, in Moscow. The English language is as familiar to her as her mother tongue. She has recently published a translation of Stuart Mill's "*Logic*." The Bulgarian papers and reviews are also indebted to Madame Karaveloff for articles upon the education of women, and it is said that she often comes to the help of her husband. She fulfils the duties of teacher to the Girls' College in Sofia without payment. During the recent war she devoted herself to the help of the wounded, both Servians and Bulgarians.

It was Karaveloff who headed the movement in favour of the union of the two Bulgarias. He had been long preparing them to take this view. In 1884 petitions to the

Great Powers to this effect were signed in the principal Bulgarian towns, both north and south of the Balkans. It was a wholly national movement. No foreigner had either known of it or encouraged it. The Prince suspected nothing of what was taking place in Roumelia. He was quietly enjoying sea-bathing at Varna when Karaveloff came to see him and explained that they had to confront an irresistible outburst of national feeling. Alexander understood this, and trusted his Minister: he saw that he was about to place himself at the head of a legitimate popular movement, which needed to be guided and moderated. For the honour of Karaveloff we must record that this revolution cost no single drop of blood, nor one act of severity. Even the Mussulmans made no opposition, and they have had no reason to complain.

I am told that it is one of Karaveloff's great merits that he has will, decision, ability to ensure obedience. When the Russian officers were obliged to leave, Prince Cantacuzène, Minister of War and Russian General, was rejoicing in the thought of the embarrassment which would be caused in Bulgaria. Karaveloff instantly decided to replace them by Bulgarian captains. "Impossible!" said Cantacuzène: "I will not sign these appointments." "But we must have them." "Never; I would rather send in my resignation." "As you like," answered M. Karaveloff; "I will take your portfolio also." Both hurried to meet Prince Alexander, who had returned from Vienna; he continued his confidence in Karaveloff, who had his way. We know how these captains have fought at Slivnitza, Dragoman, Tsaribrod, and Piro. I am told that the Prince's conduct was admirable in the terrible crisis he has just passed through. Isolated, without a staff, he ordered everything himself at once by the telegraph at Philippopolis; he knew every officer individually. He is a true soldier, formed in the Prussian school.

The peasants also showed unbounded devotion to the national cause. They received acknowledgments and cheques for the horses and food which were requisitioned,

and tore them up. In the poor villages near the seat of war they fed the soldiers freely, and each man contributed what he could. The men of the militia arrived, cold, resolute, without flourish of trumpets or songs, but with the determination to do their duty. The women accompanied them, and saw them start without a tear. All the officials, including the Prince, who received a salary of more than a thousand francs, gave up half. The Conservative party also behaved very well. In the face of national peril they made a truce with internal divisions, and unreservedly supported Karaveloff. It is said, however, that some statesmen would have continued to support Russia, and would even have attempted a manifestation against the Prince. This fact would be so horrible that it is almost impossible to believe it.

It is certain that the Czar's attitude has been a supreme mistake, and that the Russian agents at Sofia act in a manner as mischievous as it is blind. They desire that everything shall proceed under their direction, and when the sentiment of national dignity resists they attempt to embroil everything, to upset the Ministers, to thwart the Prince, and to prove that they are necessary. The only result will be that they will make the Bulgarians forget all the help given them by Russia, and will stifle every feeling of gratitude.

Russia ought to play a very different part, she should protect and counsel, but never command or intrigue. She has made Bulgaria, let her help it to act like an independent State. Why should she stunt the growth of the child she has brought into the world? Let her resume the attitude which formerly gained for her the sympathies of all Slavs, that whatever happens she will raise her voice on behalf of the *rayas*, at Constantinople and in the European councils, in a simple appeal to the rights of humanity and the interests of Europe, to see the Balkan Peninsula free and prosperous: it is thus only that she will regain her influence. Otherwise she will have no more chance of retaining it in Bulgaria and Macedonia than in Serbia and Croatia.

## CHAPTER IX.

### ROUMELIA.

To reach the Ottoman railway at Tatar-Bazardjik from Sofia, I had to make a long stage of 115 kilometres and to cross two chains of mountains. It generally takes two days, sleeping at Ichtiman, but for 120 francs I found a little victoria with four horses that would take me in a day, on condition of starting at four in the morning. I had for companion, M. Guéroff, a young lawyer, who had studied in the University at Liège; he knew the country thoroughly and spoke Turkish as well as his mother tongue, Bulgarian.

When we left Sofia, the silvery mists of the morning hung over the immense desert plain which stretches on all sides, beyond the horizon; but the sun soon attracted and scattered them. The two chains of the Balkans which encircle this old Lacustrian basin, stood in purple profile against the pearl grey sky. We crossed a wooden bridge over the Ysker, which, coming from Samakof and the Rilo-Dagh, where it rises, divides itself into a number of channels, which it hollows in the yellow clay.

The country appeared uninhabited. We only met some buffalo waggons, taking wood for fuel and carpentry from the forest of Bellova, belonging to Baron de Hirsch. It takes four or five days for the journey. The buffaloes are fed on the waste lands by the roadside, and the drivers

carry their own maize cake. Nevertheless, we understand how it is that fuel is so dear in the Bulgarian capital. If, as in Switzerland, all the heights were wooded, what wealth would be brought to this country ravaged by so many centuries of conflict and oppression! Good forest laws, and planting, that is what the Government ought to undertake first of all.

Leaving the Vitosch to the right we mounted the spur of the Balkans, which separates the watershed of the Danube from that of the Ægean. It is not high, and consists of rounded hills covered with brush-wood. From time to time, we came across traces of the railway, commenced ten years ago, to connect Sofia with the line Sarambey-Constantinople; in the ravines were the piles of half-finished bridges, or stones lying on the ground, also embankments and cuttings furrowed by the rains, even some rails buried under the weeds and shrubs. It is a lamentable history which shows plainly the impotence of Turkish rule and the causes which have hindered reform.

Having quarrelled with M. de Hirsch, the Porte desired to finish the railway system by an agent under its own control. A Pacha was appointed. He found the post pleasant and lucrative, but the works did not advance; so he was recalled and replaced by another Pacha, who followed his example. The Government was tired of the expense and the works were given up, after they had cost more than half of what was required to finish the line.

At Vaccarel, a village of a few thatched houses, our horses stopped to drink at a fountain, where a Turkish inscription was written in Greek characters. The signboard of a shop was written in Bulgarian, Hebrew, and French. My travelling companion questioned a peasant about the agricultural conditions of the neighbourhood. He answered, "We have all as much land as we can cultivate; each peasant owns his land and has also a couple of oxen, a horse, and forty or fifty sheep; the richest have four oxen and three or four hundred sheep. The village has five thousand goats or sheep amongst two hundred households; there



are no poor amongst us, for each family takes care of its sick and infirm. We produce enough to fully supply our wants; but when we must get some hard cash to pay the taxes we find it very difficult. No one who lives here buys, and the markets where our produce would sell are so far away! However, things are better than formerly. In the time of the Turks, the *spahis* collected the tithes, and took what amount they liked, a swarm of collectors and scribes spread themselves, like locusts, all over the country. The harvest could not be gathered in till they had taken the tenth, and if they were not bribed they would leave your crops to rot on the ground. Now, the tithe has been definitely fixed, each village knows its share, and re-distributes it amongst its people."

Descending towards Ichtiman, we followed a beautiful, fertile, and not ill-cultivated valley, where the crops of wheat, rye, and barley looked well. At the entrance of the town we met a charmingly effective wedding procession. A newly married Bulgarian girl was being taken home to her husband's village; the men on horseback executed a fantasia, and let off guns and pistols; the women wore charming costumes, brighter and gayer than those of Central Bulgaria: a velvet Greek cap, covered with pearls and feathers, rested coquettishly upon the hair, which hung down in long tresses, ornamented with flowers: a small jacket edged with gold braid, and cut very low in front, showed a fine tunic embroidered at the collar and wrists with brightly coloured wool: a skirt of red silk was looped up over a brown embroidered one. Silk! that tells already of the South. The peasants here are of a very different type from the Chops, near Sofia: the women have a fair complexion and light hair, and the men a franker and less gloomy air.

We are now in Eastern Roumelia. The custom-house officer very politely excuses himself in French, while examining our boxes. The gendarmes, with their wide blue trousers tucked into their high boots, their white cloaks and their *talpaks* of Astrakan, ornamented with a gilt cross,

look really handsome. They carried their sabres in the Russian fashion.

We stopped at a Turkish inn, newly built of wood, with a large balcony towards the street. Inside, upon the whitened ceilings, are designs, flowers, and arabesques, in bright blue, in the Turkish style. It is impossible to imagine how carelessly this house was constructed. On the first floor, we see through gaps all that goes on below. The rooms are divided by planks nailed to posts which are still unbarked. The rain trickles between the badly laid tiles. No care for comfort or durability. Was this done for economy's sake, or from carelessness about the future, or from an unconscious reminiscence of the nomad life beneath a tent?

In the café on the ground floor, Mussulmans, in turbans, are seated with crossed legs upon wooden forms, smoking their long pipes; others are helping themselves with their fingers to the roast lamb, served on a great dish of rice. They have for dessert cheese and *yourt*, made from curds; they drink nothing but water or coffee. Mussulmans of the old block, still uncorrupted by the West, they are grave and melancholy, no longer supreme masters as in other days; nevertheless, they live on good terms with the Bulgarians. Mohammed had a good inspiration when he prescribed ablutions and proscribed wine and spirits; the fulfilment of his precepts prevents, even more than our temperance societies, the excessive use of alcohol, the modern plague which sweeps away so many victims.

We stroll through the little town. The principal street is lined with low, open shops of the Turkish kind. Horses' heads are fixed on stakes at the entrance to the yards before the farmhouses in order to drive away evil spirits. The Bulgarian church is a small, low, unpretending edifice of hard clay; its aim is to be unnoticed. The bells are hung in a rustic "campanile," made by four poles, supporting a small thatched roof. The mosque, on the contrary, raises high its pointed minaret; by its side is the Turkish school, with its two class-rooms, but neither

had any scholastic furniture, no desks nor forms. The scholars, sitting on the ground, were writing upon slates. Their education consists in learning verses of the Koran by heart.

Here is the *Haman*, the public Bath, with its low dome, spotted over with rounds of thick glass, like the bottom of bottles, through which a greenish light filters into the bath room. The daily ablutions, the frequent baths at home and in the *Haman*, were an excellent habit, that should have been learned from the Turks; but, on the contrary, where the Ottomans have gone away, the warm baths fall into ruin.

The Mussulman ritual imposes more ablutions and minute directions about cleanliness than could ever have been imagined. 1. The complete bath in the *Haman*, obligatory at least once a week. 2. The *taherat*, or special douche, which is given from the *ibrik*, or jug, after eating. 3. The *gouslu*, or "purification," after a disturbed night. Every house has therefore a bath of wood or marble, *Naouzi gousli*, the Roman *labrum*, into which they must plunge three times. 4. The bath of the bride, the evening before marriage, as described in the customs of Bosnia. The same custom exists in Russia. 5. The *abdest*, or ablution before prayer, and particularly before entering the mosque. This is the reason of the fountains which are always found near the places of worship.

The Mussulman believes that he who prays should be clean in body and mind for his prayer to be acceptable to God. We are told of caravans which have died of thirst in the desert, because they devoted part of their water to ablutions; but when there is no water they may use sand or grass. The ablutions of the *abdest* are performed upon the head, neck, ears, hands, arms to the elbow, and elsewhere. At the rejoicings at the inauguration of the Suez Canal, the Arabs of the desert fixed their tents opposite to Ismailia, on the other side of the fresh-water canal. At sunset they all went to the bank, squatted down in a long row, and performed the ablutions of the *abdest*, in the most minute

manner, without any shame, and turned towards the drive where the Empress Eugénie, surrounded by princes and the whole court, was passing. It was very strange.

These daily washings, as well as the special and healthful operation that is performed upon Jewish and Mohammedan children, are very healthful regulations for the "great unwashed." In the countries of Islam we are never sickened by the nauseous smell of human effluvia which is generated by a crowd in Europe.

In the outskirts the Tziggany, who are Mussulmans, live in reed huts. There they are, always the same, with their tawny complexion, woolly hair, bright-coloured clothes, and numerous children crawling naked in the dust—true Indian Sudras.

When it was time to pay the bill I recognized the Turkish honesty, of which I had often heard. Our landlord scratched his head and conscientiously counted up the sums with his finger on the palm of his hand. I expected a ruinous amount. It came to 84 centimes (8 pence). We had brought some food, but he had provided cheese, fruit, bread, coffee, and hay for the horses.

On leaving Ichtiman we passed through a large grassy meadow, surrounded by willows, with some clumps of fine oaks; the communal land to be found surrounding the towns everywhere in the Balkan Peninsula. It is used as pasture land by horses and cattle when they are travelling.

We soon began to ascend another chain of hills, which divided us from the watershed of the Maritza. Copses of oaks and beeches grow there, but no large trees and no pines. The road was very good, and was kept in better condition than in the principality that we had just left; at the summit we saw the foundations of a Roman triumphal arch, Porta Trajana, which was still standing in 1835. Chosrer Pacha, whom the antiquarians will not bless, caused it to be knocked down. Upon a block of marble I found some letters of an almost illegible Latin inscription. We stopped to have some milk in a "log-house" built upon a foundation of fragments of the Roman gate. The place is

called Kapujuk, the Turkish for *Little Gate*, *Kapu* (gate) with the diminutive. It is however a post of Roumelioe gendarmes. The sergeant spoke to us of the atrocities committed by the Bashi-bazouks during the last war. "Throughout this part," he said, "blood flowed in torrents, but at least we are free now from the Turks, though at the cost of much suffering. If only they never come back! Alas, we are constantly threatened, for they have the right to re-occupy the Balkans."

I found everywhere about here a painful feeling of insecurity, produced by this detestable article of the Treaty of Berlin, which could do nothing but give rise to disputes; for if the Turks desired to take advantage of it to re-enter Roumelia, all the Slav population of the Peninsula would rise against them.

We left Ichtiman at two, and reached the large Bulgarian village of Vetren, at the entrance to the mountains, at six o'clock. The peasants' houses were almost all of wood or clay; they were large and surrounded by stables and barns; their tiled roofs are here a mark of wealth. Picturesque costumes gave a special charm to the usual aspects of country life. Amidst a cloud of dust in the golden glow of the setting sun, the communal shepherd was leading his flock, and the tillers were returning with their buffaloes dragging a heavy, shapeless, wooden plough, upon a hurdle; the women with their bright-coloured dresses had gathered round the fountain, which was surmounted by the usual white marble tablet, with an inscription from the Koran.

When walking through the village we went into the yard of a small farm; it was beautifully situated on the edge of a steep ravine where the pale green fern were contrasted with the red ochre rocks. A clay wall kept the cattle from straying; three sportive little pigs were playing with the children. We questioned the farmer: he had two draught oxen, but neither horse nor sheep; all his cattle had been carried off during the last war; he must economize to get another flock. Each man owns a house, a piece of ground

large enough for the support of his family, and a vineyard which produces enough wine to allow him, after keeping what he needs, to sell the rest in order to buy the few articles which he cannot make himself. In the neighbouring villages, further removed from the track of the armies, and which therefore suffered little, the peasants have many more animals. The richest have three hundred or even four hundred sheep. I examined the agricultural implements beneath a shed; they are most primitive. The plough is that of Triptolemus; the share is of iron, but there are no handles, two sticks fastened to each side take their place. A very light harrow, a hoe, a fork, and a small churn, that was all.

Inside the house there were two rooms; one was used as a kitchen; upon the open fire, in a stewpot suspended from a hook, polenta of maize was simmering; in the bedroom was an earthenware stove, but a carpet on the floor had to take the place of a bed; there was neither table nor chairs, only some stools. The small windows were made, not of glass, which is here an article of great luxury, but by wooden bars, and closed at night with shutters, so in the winter there is a choice between cold and darkness. The walls and ceiling were completely blackened by smoke. What a contrast to the peasants' homes in Holland or Denmark! But, as usual where the population is scattered, these peasants, so badly provided with furniture, were well fed; bread and milk in the morning, meat with boiled beans or maize polenta at noon; milk, cheese, and eggs in the evening; and now and then a lamb or a fowl in addition.

Throughout the region, as also in all Mohammedan countries, the sheep, the feeder on waste lands, is the only butchers' meat. The number killed is incredible. Before the inns, under the verandahs, the dried carcasses or fresh skins may be seen hanging up, and pieces of roast lamb may be bought.

Lamartine was detained twenty days by fever in this village of Vetren (formerly called Yeni-Keui), on his return

from his travels in the East; this is what he says: "The houses, dotted about on the sides of two hills, separated by a deep ravine, are set amidst pretty orchards and meadows. The mountains are all cultivated at their base, and covered on the shoulder with fine forests. The summits are rocks. I was able to study Bulgarian habits in the midst of Bulgarian homes; they resemble those of our Swiss and Savoyard peasants. These men are simple, gentle, industrious, full of respect for their priests. The women and children wear a costume something like that of the Swiss mountaineers. They are lively, pretty, pleasing. I have seen open-air dancing amongst the Bulgarians, as in our French villages. They are quite ripe for independence," (written in 1839) "and form with their neighbours, the Servians, the foundation of the future States of European Turkey. The country they live in would soon be a delightful garden if the blind and stupid opposition, not of the Turkish Government, but of the administration, would allow them to cultivate it with more security; they have a passionate love of land."

When Lamartine went through Servia, he admired the fine forests, the cradle of liberty, which have now disappeared: "After leaving Nissa, we entered the Servian ocean of forests. For six days we were in these magnificent and perpetual shades, seeing nothing but the endless colonnades of large high birch trees, the waves of foliage swayed by the wind, the avenues of hills and mountains clothed with venerable oaks."

Lamartine clearly foresaw the future: "We shall find," he said, "in Servia, one of the elements of this federation of free States destined to fill the gap that will be caused by the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire in Europe. European policy can take no other course." He adds afterwards, and it is his last word: "I should like to fight along with this growing nation for fruitful liberty." These are the noble sentiments which elevated the souls of men fifty years ago, and impelled Byron to give his life for the freedom of Greece. To-day the heart of Europe is

frozen ; these words of righteousness and liberty awake no echo. When a nation rises for its freedom, the Stock Exchange falls. That is enough ; it is too much ! Let them replace the yoke. They bless the Turkish sword which will restore order.

Between Vetren and Tatar-Bazardjik, we drove for three hours over a fertile and well-cultivated plain. Vineyards alternated with fields of barley, oats, and maize ; but there was little wheat, and no potatoes. This is a good thing, for this root, which is one of the chief articles of diet throughout the Baltic plain, is but a poor food, which, by its cheapness, tends to the reduction of wages. On our right rose the dark and imposing ridge of the Rhodope, having some peaks covered with snow. At its foot, beyond the Maritza, stretched the forest of Bellova.

I was surprised at the large number of tumuli all along the road, and similar ones exist throughout Bulgaria. It is true that nowhere have there been such wholesale massacres. Some of these hillocks have been opened, and arms of different epochs found. Herodotus (book v. chap. 8) spoke of these tumuli amongst the Thracians : describing the funeral ceremonies of the rich, he says that after having burned or buried the body, they raised a mound.

We arrived at Tatar-Bazardjik about nine in the evening, our good horses trotting fast—a credit to their Hungarian breed, for they had been going since four in the morning, except for a rest of two hours in the middle of the day. We found comfortable accommodation in a large new hotel that has been built by the Orthodox Church on the bank of the Maritza. From the balcony over the river we saw by the moonlight its waters overspreading a shallow bed of gravel.

It was on the banks of the Maritza, the Hebrus of the ancients, that the unfortunate Orpheus was killed by the angry Thracian women, and the river carried away the shapeless remains of his Marmorean body. Whilst I looked at the silvery sparkle of the moonlight upon the



black waters, some verses of Virgil and Ovid recurred to my mind :—

Spretæ ciconum quo munere matres,  
Inter sacra deum nocturnique orgia Bacchi,  
Diserptum latos juvenem sparsere per agros.  
Tum quoque, marmorea caput a cervice revolsum  
Gurgite quum medio portans Æagrius Hebrus  
Volveret, Eurydice vox ipsa et frigida lingua  
Ah ! miseram Eurydicen ! anima fugiente, vocabat ;  
Eurydicen toto referebant flumine ripæ.

—*Georgic IV.*, v. 520–527.

Caput, Hebre, lyramque  
Excipis et, mirum, methodum, labitur amne,  
Flebile nescio quid queritur lyra, flebile lingua  
Murmurat exanimis ; respondent flebile ripæ.

OVID, *Metam.*, XI., v. 50–53.

At the death of Orpheus, the Rhodope, whose bluish outline I see from here, moaned, “ Flerunt Rhodopeiæ arces ! ”

Who lived then in this region, believed by the ancients to be shrouded in eternal frost :—

“ Solus Hyperboreas glacies Tanainque nivalem  
Arvaque Rhipeis nunquam viduata primis  
Lustrabat ” ?

Were some Slavonic tribes already living there ? History has no answer.

A marble of the time of Alexander was found in the Turkish cemetery at Tatar-Bazardjik, the ancient Bessapara, by M. Albert Dumont. “ The Ottomans,” he said, “ regard it as a sacred stone ; they hang threads drawn from the clothing of the sick upon it, and they take away the dust, which has miraculous virtues.” It is a Grecian stila, with an inscription in very well-formed letters ; it shows the existence of a town and Hellenic administration in this region ; it makes mention of the panegyrics, of the worship of Apollo, of honours awarded to the victors in the Games. In many places throughout the country, bronzes, perfect as those of Attica, have been found ; also inscriptions and bas-reliefs, which prove the existence of important and numerous cities. At the time of the Roman

Empire the language of the towns, and even of the villages, appears to have been Greek.

Tatar-Bazardjik is a chief town of the department, with 15,000 inhabitants; but it has not yet lost the impress of a Turkish town, although the Ottoman troops burned and devastated a part when they left. The *préfet*, who came to supper with us, said that the Christians and Musulmans live peaceably together, only the latter imagine that the present state of things will not last, and that the Sultan's authority will be restored. If it were so, even for a short time, there is no knowing with what excesses they would revenge their submission to the same law for all. "But for the neighbourhood of the Rhodope," said the *préfet*, "the country here would be perfectly safe, like all the rest of Roumelia; but brigands from the gorge of these wild mountains make raids upon our fertile plains, and we cannot take them from Macedonian soil, where they flee for refuge." Workmen are well paid here, in proportion to the price of needful articles. A mason receives two francs a day, a joiner four to five; mutton costs only one franc the oka ( $2\frac{3}{4}$  lbs.); a couple of fowls, a franc and a half; a pair of buffaloes, 600 francs (£24).

By leaving Bazardjik at seven in the morning, I was at Philippopolis, capital of the semi-independent province of Eastern Roumelia, at half-past eight. Our road was through the valley of the Maritza, which was wonderfully fertile. The vines, growing low as in France, have a vigorous foliage, and the numerous grapes, which ripen, are not attacked by the phylloxera or the oidium. The wine about here is of an excellent kind, full-bodied; it is a medium between Bourgogne and of the Spanish Val-de-Penas. It costs only 3d. or 4d. per litre. The fields are sown with wheat, maize, and often barley, which, as in Asia, is used in preference to oats to feed the horses. On the right, parallel to the Maritza, the chain of the Rhodope, the Despoto-Dagh, is prolonged; on the left is the outline of the far-away Balkans, the Hæmus of the ancients. In the middle of the plain, three steep hills of syenite rise

abruptly from the plain, crowned by the houses of Philippopolis and its suburbs. The town was founded by Philip, the father of Alexander. It is called Plovdiv in Bulgarian.

Dr. Stoyan Tchomakoff met us at the station and took us to his magnificent house, where he welcomed us with the most cordial hospitality. Born at Koprinchitza in Eastern Roumelia, he studied at Pisa and Paris, then settled at Philippopolis, where he practised medicine until the outbreak of the ecclesiastical struggle between the Bulgarians and the Greek clergy. In 1862 he was sent to Constantinople as Bulgarian representative; he was the soul of the national movement in favour of an independent Church. After the election of the first Exarch in 1872, he was made a member of the mixed council of the Exarchate and remained in Constantinople until the conclusion of the Treaty of Berlin. He is President of the Sanatory Council and member of the Legislative Assembly; he is one of the most influential men in the country; he speaks Turkish, Greek, Bulgarian, French, and Italian equally well.

A wide boulevard has been made between the station and the town, with beautiful buildings, villas amidst flower gardens, and large houses inhabited by the Consuls of foreign Powers. The interior of the town has no savour of the East; it is more like an old fortified city of Southern Italy. The steep narrow streets lie between very lofty houses, whose upper storeys, often of wood, hang over, supported by beams or corbels. Some houses resemble the Roman villas on the frescoes of Pompei, beyond a high wall and a heavy door with large nails girded with iron bars, opens a marble paved court, which is well sheltered by acacias and cherry trees with bright red fruit. Then comes the house with a row of slender columns and tall pilasters, painted white with arabesques of bright blue. A vine ornaments the façade; its branches are laden with purpling grapes. Through the foliage the sun throws golden rays upon the pavement and flowers. These bright colours and this delicious freshness gives an impression of brightness and happiness.

Every one here spoke to me of the cruelties committed by the Turks, during the last war. They were done systematically, with the intention of terrifying the people and preventing them from rising at the approach of Russia. At Philippopolis, twenty or thirty Bulgarians were hung every day, and one day the number was sixty. When, at the request of the Ambassadors, Ahmed Vefikz Pacha was sent to stop the executioner, Suleiman Pacha hung six *rayas* before the *Konak* to welcome his arrival; he said he had received his orders from Constantinople.\*

This district suffered the most from the alternate advance and retreat of the Russian and Turkish armies; several adjacent villages were destroyed. After Gourko's retreat, Karlovo, a comfortable commercial city, was pillaged, and 1,500 inhabitants massacred in cold blood. A distinguished man, Dr. Popoff, who was quietly at home, was carried away to Philippopolis and hung without any form of trial. I am told that there are more than 900 widows in Karlovo whose husbands were massacred at that time. Calofer, the village of Chipka, Eski-Zagra, Kezanlik, the chief town of the Valley of Roses, were burnt and sacked, wholly or in part. I only recall these details, which the American reports published with all particulars at the time, to explain the terror felt by the inhabitants at the idea that the Turks could possibly re-occupy the country. They know to what cruel vengeance they would

\* Count de Bourgoing, French Ambassador, wrote on August 16, 1876, referring to the amnesty granted by the Porte to the Bulgarians, excepting "the chiefs of the insurrection and those who took an active part in it:" "With this restriction such a measure is absurd, and does not prevent executions on a large scale. A few wretches are set at liberty, but those who would inspire revenge are pitilessly hung." According to M. le Baron d'Avril (*Correspondant*, July 25, 1884): "It is impossible to doubt that a fixed system of the destruction of the Bulgarian nationality, south of the Balkans, by the extermination of its . . . chiefs, was then carried out." Now the same system is followed in Macedonia, though by somewhat different means. Instead of hanging the principal representatives of the Bulgarian nationality, they are exiled to the shores of the Red Sea, or to Asia Minor; the same result always follows—death.

be exposed. Let us hope that Europe will never allow this !

I heard bitter complaints against Article 10 of the Organic Statute, which gives the Sultan the right to veto the laws passed by the Provincial Assembly. He uses this right to oppose many excellent measures ; I will give examples. A law authorizing the Government to advance £108,200 on mortgage to the cultivators ruined by the last war, civil registration, law regarding the press, law for the preservation of forests, law converting the *vakoufs* into freehold property, law regulating scholastic work, law relating to the titles of property, law exempting wines and spirits for exportation from the payment of duty, construction of a railway to unite the existing system with Bourgas, the only good port in Roumelia, which is now almost useless. What can be more cruel to a people eager for reforms than to be at the mercy of a foreign Power, despotic and capricious, which must fear every progress, for it well knows that all the new forces will be devoted to the struggle for definite freedom ? However, some important improvements have been accomplished in the following matters : the making of a cadaster, which is essential, adoption of the metrical system, re-organization of elementary teaching, regulation of the sanatory service, formation of agricultural Banks, expropriation for reasons of public usefulness, organization of the rural and municipal police.

I admired the Organic Statute because it reproduced the general principles of the Belgian Constitution, but I have heard the following criticisms made. " Firstly, these fundamental laws relate to many things which are already settled by ordinary laws or by simple decisions. The Constitution with which European diplomacy has gratified us forms a folio of 15 chapters with 498 articles, plus 13 additions with 687 articles, and not one can be changed without the unanimous consent of the Great Powers ; that is the decision of Article 495. Nations are living organisms, with changing wants, which require therefore constant

modifications of the administrative, judicial, and financial laws. In Roumelia they are immovable. This monument of political skill was commenced in January, 1875, and finished on the 14th of April in the same year. It is true that the principle of the division of labour was brought into operation—the English delegates took the electoral laws; the Austrian, the judicial organization; the Italian, the financial system; and the French, the administrative details. Is it astonishing that it contains many contradictions? I will give some of the practical evils which result from the organic laws that have been given.

“Under Turkish rule the present province of Eastern Roumelia was divided into two *sangiacs*, departments, containing 14 *casas* or cantons. We had then only 2 *préfets*, and 14 magistrates to support. The French system, which has been given us, has divided the province into 6 departments and 28 cantons. We have therefore 6 *préfets*, 6 Councils-general, 6 secretaries of the *préfecture*, 28 magistrates, 28 commandants of gendarmerie, 28 commissaries of police. Officialism has invaded us.

“A village which governed itself without any representative of authority has become the chief town of a canton, wherein resides a squad of officials of all grades and kinds. It was enough to suppress the Turkish officials who robbed us; we should have had local autonomies, as in the United States. On the other hand, we ought to have had tax collectors. Article 212 of the Statute decides that ‘the mayors are charged with, and responsible for, the exact return of the taxes;’ and Article 183 stipulates that ‘the mayors shall be re-elected every year by the inhabitants of the commune.’ These mayors naturally try to be re-elected, and are very careful not to offend their electors. They levy the Government taxes very badly, and the arrears are considerable, about 20 per cent. each year. They amounted to 17 millions of piastres in July 31, 1883. By Article 248 these same mayors are also judges. As they are not permitted to decide differences, these are brought directly to the judges of the canton, who are

thus overwhelmed with business, justice cannot be obtained which causes great discontent. All these things ought to be arranged by the Assembly to suit our special situation. The Treaty has enwrapped us, like an Egyptian mummy, in a network of bandages, pleasant to the sight, but which condemns us to immobility."

I gained some information about the different political parties. During the two first years of autonomy there was a conflict of nationalities, but the Bulgarians had no trouble in winning and filling most of the offices. Since then they are divided into two parties—the Liberals, moderate or governmental; and the Nationalists or Unionists, partizans of a more decided policy. They are divided on the question of the best policy to follow in order to obtain the reunion of the two fragments of Bulgaria, so unhappily divided by the Treaty of Berlin; both parties agree in desiring reunion, as do all the Bulgarians. When the late W. E. Forster was recently at Philippopolis, M. Kaltchoff, one of the leaders of the Moderates, explained to him that the re-constitution of the country of Bulgaria, cut in pieces at Berlin, is the aim of all, only the Liberals think that great prudence is necessary. The Unionists, on the contrary, think that the national will must be expressed constantly, clearly, and on all occasions, before Europe and the country, and, even in this sense, must arouse a share of agitation. It was this party which organized recently the universal petition in favour of union which drew the whole country together.

None can be surprised that the reunion of the two parts of Bulgaria, torn apart by the Treaty of Berlin, filled all minds here. The Bulgarians, since they came into the Peninsula, in the seventh century, have always formed an ethnic unity, a nation, both under the Ottoman rule, and in the time of their greatness, under the Czar Simeon and his successors; European diplomacy had cut this living nationality into three parts—one, an independent principality, Bulgaria; the other, a state half freed, Roumelia; and the third, a province completely enslaved to the Turks, Mace-

donia. How could the Bulgarians submit to a decision which so cruelly wounds their historical remembrances and their material interests, especially after they had realized for a time in the Treaty of San Stefano an ideal never afterwards to be forgotten! It is vain to speak to them of respect for treaties; they answer, "These treaties were made against our interest, and we have neither signed nor accepted them." Southern Bulgaria is the complement of Northern Bulgaria, less rich, and with fewer able men; the commercial relations were active, the south sent the products of a warmer zone to the north. The barrier of customs, arbitrarily traced by diplomatists, fetters this commerce which was favoured by community of race and origin. The nation has been split up into two halves, which apart were not self-sufficient, and were overwhelmed by the expense of a double Government. A diplomatic combination, which does not grow out of history, and which does not take the interests and wishes of the populations into account, had evidently no chance of long continuance.

Here, as in Bulgaria, all the cultivators own the land they occupy, particularly since the last war; before that time there were rich Turks in the towns and in some villages, who owned large *tchiftliks*, or farms; they let them to the Bulgarian peasants, who paid in kind, according to the quality of the soil, from one to four *chiniks* (twenty litres) of wheat per *deunum* (equal to 1,600 square mètres).

In these countries, so well prepared for a rural democracy, where equality amongst the *rayas* was maintained by the Turks, *latifundia* must not be permitted to form. Prince Nikita has understood this, and has proclaimed a new law as to landed property in Montenegro. For the future no one will be authorized to acquire more than twenty acres of land; such an exceptional regulation arose from the constant emigration of Mohammedans, who could not rest contentedly in a country where Islamism no longer enjoyed its full influence and prerogatives. In the districts of Nikitch, Dulcigno, Antivari, Podgoritza, ceded to the Montenegrins by Turkey, the Mohammedans have imitated their



co-religionists of Bulgaria and Servia—they have left their homes. It followed from this that many Montenegrins acquired property of a considerable relative extent at absurdly low prices; it was then easy to foresee that before long a class of large landowners would spring up in the Tchernagora, who would continue the traditional idleness of the former possessors of the soil. It was against this contingency that Prince Nikita wished to guard by issuing his decree, which limited property and divided the land as equally as possible amongst the inhabitants.

I was introduced to M. Guechoff, one of the most educated and distinguished men of this country. He speaks and writes French and English equally well. Born at Philippopolis, he studied at the Victoria University, Manchester. During the Russo-Turkish war, he wrote some letters to *The Times* upon the "Bulgarian Atrocities" of 1876, which caused him to be thrown into prison, exiled to Asia Minor, and almost put to death. In 1879 he was deputed to present the wishes of Eastern Roumelia to the Great States, which, alas, were not listened to; on his return he was elected President of the Assembly for the first three sessions. He gave me some figures respecting the present financial situation.

The Budget of 1883-4 amounted to 72,196,509 piastres, (100 piastres make a Turkish Pound, which is worth nearly 18s.) It is true Roumelia has, so far, no debt, and no large standing army—these two causes of unbounded expenditure, one leading to the other. "We have not yet been able to modify the former system of taxation," said M. Guechoff, "because in our precarious situation we avoid everything that could give rise to any kind of disturbance." However the tithes have been changed into a fixed tax, payable in money, its rate calculated by the Commune on the average produce of the last ten years, with a reduction of 10 per cent. Unfortunately, owing to four bad harvests in succession, and the low price of corn, this change has seemed hard, and it is thought that the product will be 25 per cent. less than the estimate, which was 32,000,000

piastres. In Bulgaria, where the same change of the tithes into a money tax was adopted, they took the average of the three years after the war, which diminished the sum total of the land tax. In 1883 the other taxes were, one of 10,279 piastres upon sheep, 322,000 piastres upon pigs, income-tax, 3,580,284 piastres, and 1,004,443 piastres upon buildings. The indirect taxation—custom dues, salt, tobacco, spirits, stamps—returned 18,244,992 piastres, an astonishingly low figure. Only 2,379,610 piastres, or £2,094, was returned by all the custom-houses. They are not worth the trouble of keeping.

The increase of receipts was very satisfactory; in 1879 they amounted to 53,645,528 piastres, and in 1883 to 72,037,111 piastres. Roumelia has to pay a considerable tribute to the Porte, amounting to three-tenths of its revenues. The European Commission fixed this tribute at 240,000 Turkish pounds, but the Assembly reduced it to 180,000 pounds, because the net revenue did not amount to more than 600,000 Turkish pounds. The Sultan refused to sanction this alteration, and the bondholders protested; but Roumelia appealed to Article 16 of the Organic Statute which gave it the right so to do. The total amount of taxes required by the State is not more than 13s. 8d. per head. A Frenchman pays five times as much. However, as in consequence of the precarious situation of the country the taxes are badly returned, it has been necessary to borrow some millions from the Ottoman Bank, which created uneasiness, and contributed to bring about the recent revolution.

Roumelia publishes her statistics annually, and I notice some interesting figures. There are 160,555 ratepayers in the country, paying directly to the State 22 piastres, or about 4s. 2d. per head. The number of communes is considerable; it is 1,343 for a population of 815,946 inhabitants, which gives about 600 people to a commune. The five direct taxes are paid by the different religious confessions in the following proportions: Bulgarians, 35,418,456; Turks, 8,948,242; Greeks, 2,202,513; Catholic Bulgarians,

378,439 ; Armenians, 66,804 ; Israelites, 40,140. As the Greeks are generally better off than the Bulgarians, we see that they must be sixteen or eighteen times less in number.

The debts contracted by Eastern States lead to consequences which are revolting to humanity. The creditors appeal to the Great Powers to compel the delivery of "the pound of flesh." The Governments of Turkey and Egypt are only presses used to extract the last resources from the people ; and the Western States, which formerly used their influence to obtain some freedom or relief for the unhappy peoples, now assist in deepening their slavery, and crushing them under the pitiless screw of taxation. Roumeliotes beware of contracting debts as Serbia has done !

In Roumelia I noticed in almost every village a new two-storied building, freshly whitewashed, and contrasting with the dark-looking surrounding cottages ; this building was the primary school, built since the emancipation. The communes took the initiative to erect these buildings, and the State granted them a subsidy. In the Budget of 1883, the cost of teaching is set down at 4,728,922 piastres, or about 1s. 1d. per head. It is a great deal for such poor people, and thus education absorbs the eleventh part of the Budget. That would be equivalent to 300,000,000 francs (£12,000,000) for France. The comparison of the school statistics of the different churches is also interesting. Bulgarian schools 890, with 1,104 masters and 196 mistresses, and 50,184 pupils. As the lists of children in age of receiving education in 1883 amount to 78,702, it follows that three-fifths of the children of the age for school receive instruction, a better proportion than is found in Bosnia, Servia, or Bulgaria. The Turks have 763 schools, with 758 masters and 30 mistresses, and 27,113 pupils of both sexes ; the number of children of the school age is unknown. The Greeks have only 48 schools, with 3,471 pupils ; as 6,719 children are of the age to attend, it follows that half of them never go. The Catholic Bulgarians have 10 schools and 980 pupils ; the Armenians, 5 schools, with 201 pupils ; and the Israelites, 14 schools, with 918 pupils.

For secondary teaching the Bulgarians have 19 schools, with 2,554 pupils; the Turks, 2 schools, with 164 pupils; and the Greeks, 2 schools, with 282 pupils. These, although four times less in number than the Turks, have many more pupils; another proof that the Mussulmans care little for learning. The State has founded two gymnasiums, with 1,264 pupils, where the ancient languages are taught—one at Slivno, the other at Philippopolis; and, what is more remarkable, two gymnasiums (*realschulen*) for girls—one at Philippopolis, the other at Stara-Zagora, and they have 308 pupils.

The higher school for girls is the most beautiful building of Philippopolis; built in the classic style, it has cost 450,000 francs = £19,520, and the gymnasium £8,000. The four establishments of middle-class teaching have 62 professors, and cost the province a million of piastres each year; it supports also 180 scholarships in the country and 50 abroad.

At Belgrade and Sofia millions have been spent on the palace of the sovereign; here, the head of the State was content with an old building that threatens to crumble to ruin, and the only two large edifices that have been built are for the higher education of the young people of both sexes. One might imagine one's self in the United States.

The Governor, Aleko Pacha, being absent, M. Tchomakoff introduced me to the Prime Minister, M. Gabriel Krestovitch, who has since then been appointed Governor-General, under the name of Gavril Pacha. He told us that the people are moral, peaceable, and not much inclined to crimes and misdemeanours; and I found in the official statistics of 1884 that, in the six prisons of the district, there were only 676 prisoners altogether, of whom only seven were women. One prisoner for 1207 inhabitants is very little, for the feminine sex, one in 116,588. It may be believed that in this fortunate country women are never guilty of any crime deserving imprisonment. These really extraordinary figures are attributed to the manner of life and equality of rank. Professor Lombroso, of Turin, the emi-

ment physiologist of criminals, in a strange and powerful book, "Uomo delinquente," endeavours to prove that many murderers kill by instinct, prompted by their physical conformation, like tigers and hyenas; would he find in the convolutions of the Bulgarian brain the explanation of the rarity of crime?

M. Tchomakoff's son-in-law, a Russian officer, naturalized Roumeliote, told me about the army. Military service is obligatory on all after the age of twenty-one; but, in ordinary times, only 3,660 men muster under the flag, divided into thirteen battalions, including a battalion drill. This small army costs £106,000, which is very little, and yet the taxpayers complain.\* The gendarmerie, which costs £60,000, is perfectly organized, and this is essential, for it is to this body of picked men that the security enjoyed by the traveller throughout Roumelia is owing. How different from the Turkish provinces, where brigandage proceeds briskly right up to the gates of Constantinople and Salonica! Spain has also a corps, admirable for discipline and devotion, the *guardia civil*, to which the suppression of the brigands is due.

The Roumeliotes have a very strong desire for education. The magistrates, statesmen, and deputies, whom I meet here, speak French, English, and, often, German, very well, besides the Oriental languages. My host's daughter has a pure Parisian accent, although she has never been in France, and she expresses herself with equal ease in Bulgarian, Russian, Greek, Turkish, and English.

Many of the men at the head of affairs in the two Bulgarias have been educated in the Robert College, an admirable institution, founded by the Americans, on the heights of Roumeli-Hissar, near Constantinople. A thorough middle-class and higher education is given there, with English as the language used. Under the superintendence of an eminent scholar, Mr. George Washburn, and of distinguished masters, such as Long, Groves-

\* It will be recollected what courage the Roumelian militia displayed in the recent war against Servia.

nor, Millingen, Panaretoff, young people are prepared to fill high administrative offices. They are educated in a moral centre, where sentiments of refinement and honour impregnate the soul, a rare thing in the modern East. The bracing air of the Black Sea strengthens the body, and the magnificent panorama of the Bosphorus develops the æsthetic instinct. Robert College has been most highly influential in the regeneration of the Peninsula; I do not know a more emphatic example of the service to civilization of good high-class teaching.

It is difficult to estimate exactly the agricultural produce of Roumelia; the official statistics contain the figures for some special articles only. In 1883 silk cocoons were worth 1,451,952 piastres; 290,367 hectolitres of wine were produced; 2,275,593 litres of *raki* (brandy); 472,137 kilogrammes of tobacco, or 63 kilogrammes per *deunum* of 16 *ares*. These totals seem low compared with the fertility of the province; they have certainly been reduced by the traditional dread of taxation which, under the Turkish rule, laid a penalty on all intelligent labour.

The import trade is not great; it is true that part of the frontier has no custom houses, so that the figures do not show the exact amount of exchanges with Turkey or with other foreign lands. There is, however, an extraordinarily rapid development of trade that is most satisfactory. In 1882 the imports amounted to 34,386,178 piastres; and in 1883, to 54,749,868 piastres, or an increase of 20,363,690 piastres. In 1882 the exports amounted to 40,547,707 piastres, and in 1883 to 64,099,964 piastres, or 23,552,257 piasters more. Commerce then increased one-third in a year; the trade is almost exclusively with Bulgaria and Turkey; that with other countries is insignificant—France, 50,000 francs = £2,000; England, £1,800; Russia and Austria, each a little more than £12,000. The total about equals the freight of two steamers. The reason for this is simple; Bourgas, the only important port of Roumelia, has no railway connecting it with the interior of the country. Commercial Europe has, therefore, the

greatest interest to obtain from the Porte the removal of the veto with which it has opposed the construction of this railway, which was decided upon by the Roumeliote Assembly.

I give a summary of the shipping in the various ports of the province in 1883 : Bourgas, 223 ships, 106,632 tons ; Anchialo, 70 ships, 8,712 tons ; Mecemvria, 18 ships, 1,181 tons ; Sizopoli, 63 ships, 7,173 tons. The navigation is merely coasting trade.

All cattle are subjected to a special tax, so that we know their numbers accurately ; here are the official figures for 1883 : The bovine race, 312,018 ; buffaloes, 58,754 ; horses, 53,590 ; asses and mules, 33,415 ; sheep, 1,858,839 ; goats, 425,569 ; pigs, 107,442. This gives a gross total of 687,000, or about 84 to every 100 inhabitants, a proportion slightly less favourable than in Servia and Bosnia ; this shows that there is a smaller extent of pasture land. In this respect there is still room for improvement.

Since March 1, 1884, the French metrical system of weights and measures has been made obligatory ; but for money, they must be content to use worn-out, shapeless Turkish pieces, subject to incessant variations of value, because the seven wise men, representing Europe, who elaborated the Organic Statute, have inscribed therein, "Article 18 : The golden money of the empire is the legal money of the province." However, it seems that this article ought not to prevent the circulation of silver pieces corresponding to the Bulgarian leff, or the French franc, as well as the golden pound, received at its intrinsic value.

## CHAPTER X.

### MACEDONIA.

I INTENDED to visit Macedonia, but I was told I could only travel there with an escort, often as dangerous as the brigands themselves, so I gave up my project ; but I have gained much information about the country, and I understand more clearly the difficult question fermenting there. Nowhere does the struggle of nationalities, that I have met with everywhere since I entered Austria, present itself so sharply and with such threatening complications for the future. It is not only the intermixture of races, but especially the claims of neighbouring peoples.

The Bulgarians claim Macedonia, because it gave them their Church, their language, and their literature. There the great Apostles, Methodius and Cyril, translated the Gospels into Paleoslav ; it is about the Rhodope that the purest Bulgarian is spoken, and there, also, the treasure of ancient popular songs is preserved ; and, lastly, a recent treaty of San Stefano had acknowledged their rights. On the other hand, the Greeks are ready to sacrifice everything rather than give up Macedonia, where they believe themselves to be the most numerous, and where, certainly, they have been the civilizing element. This province is indispensable to the realization of "the great Hellenic idea," that is, the re-constitution of Byzantine Greece. The Servians, in their turn, wish to annex the north of the



provinces, because it is inhabited by their brethren, and on account of its having been the ancient centre of the Empire of Dushan. They wish for the south as well, because it would give them an access to the Mediterranean. Lastly, there is Austria, who, it is supposed, hopes some time to reach Salonica, and who, certainly does not intend that the future ports for Bosnian traffic should fall into the hands of a client of Russia.

The first point to settle is the number of inhabitants belonging to each of these races which are disputing the possession of Macedonia, because it is upon these ethnic data that the diverse claims rest. Notwithstanding Kiepert's ethnographic map, the Berlin diplomatists were not able to agree upon this point, and, in fact, it is very difficult to obtain accurate and reliable figures.

The Greeks are convinced that they form the majority of the population. Some years ago M. Saripolos, a learned professor at Athens, correspondent of the French Institute, gave the following figures as certain. Greeks, 500,000; Slavs, 100,000; and 40,000 Jews. Recently, in Salonica, some influential inhabitants of Hellenic race sent an address to the Patriarch and to the Porte, in the name of 800,000 Greeks living in the province; and according to M. H. Houssaye, there are 600,000 Hellenes and 90,000 Bulgarians.

In 1881 the Roumeliote Government issued detailed statistics based on Turkish figures, commune by commune, which gave for Macedonia, from a total of 1,863,382 inhabitants, 1,251,385 Slavs, 463,839 Mussulmans, of whom part were slaves (Pomaks), and only 57,480 Greeks.\* A high official of Philippopolis has recently published, under the pseudonym of Ofeikoff, an interesting study in which I have found the following figures, based upon the census

\* Turkey had no census, but, for the army, she had count of the Mussulmans liable to serve, *Noufous*, and, on the other hand, of the Christians, who, unable to serve, paid a special tax on this account, *Bédéli-Askerie*. As the Roumeliote statistics give the number of houses in each village, and the nationality of the inhabitants, the calculation would be easy.

made by the dignitaries of the Orthodox Church, and consequently comprising only the Christians. Slavs of the Eastern rite, 181,000 families, or 905,000 souls; Greeks and Valaques, 20,300 families, or 101,500 souls. I found in the Croat paper, the *Sloboda*, not at all hostile to the Serbs, because it is of the same race, the following statistics, taken from the recent work of Herr Ritter, the learned German geographer: 1,124,288 Bulgarians; 360,626 Mussulmans, Turks, and Pomaks, also Bulgarians; 422,357 Serbs, Albanians, and Wallacks; 59,833 Greeks.

Here is a description of the distribution of the various nationalities. The western strip of Macedonia, from beyond the Drin to Prisrend, is inhabited by Albanians. Towards the east, beyond Ochrida, the Bulgarians are found, at first intermingled with Arnauts and Wallack Tzintzars, up to the railway, Salonica Metrovitza, in Old Servia; towards the north, the Serbs predominate, but there are also some Arnauts. The east and centre of the province are inhabited by Bulgarians, who go almost as far as Seres and Salonica. The Greeks possess the coast and form an important element in most towns, because they have more education and more intercourse with foreigners. Salonica, the capital, is almost a Jewish town, and most of the Greeks there are of Tzintzare origin. The Wallacks are found in a compact mass in the mountains of Pindus and in the valley of Monastir.

According to the best-informed writers—Reclus, Kiepert, Ubicini, Lejean, Crousse—the great majority of the inhabitants of Macedonia are Bulgarians. William of Tyre said in the twelfth century, at the time of the Byzantine Conquest, “The Bulgarian nation occupies all the space between the Danube and the Adriatic as far as Constantinople, so that all this country with a width of ten days’ marching and a length of thirty is called Bulgaria.” Lejean, whose “Ethnography of Turkey in Europe” is still an authority, expresses himself in a similar manner: “In Macedonia the Bulgarians have conquered almost everywhere, and they have, by degrees, driven back the Hellenes towards

the sea. From Strymon to Maritza, the Hellenic zone is only a narrow belt, inhabited by sailors and fishermen, whilst the Bulgarian, essentially an agriculturalist, occupies the heights which overlook the littoral."

We can appeal on this point to a still higher authority, Prince Bismarck. In a speech on February 19, 1878, in answer to a remark of M. de Bennigsen, relative to the Eastern Question, said: "The ethnographic position of Bulgaria, as I know it from authentic sources, and as it is shown by the best map we know, that of Kiepert, is such that its national limits extend almost unbroken to beyond Salonica towards the west, and with a slight admixture of Turkish elements as far as the Black Sea, towards the east."

These estimates are confirmed by the etymology of the names of the villages, seven-eighths of which are derived from Bulgarian roots. In Roumelia there is a much larger proportion of Turkish names. According to careful statistics, the most favourable to the Greeks, they do not form one-tenth of the population. How can it be thought at Athens that they have the majority? The illusion springs from the returns given by the ecclesiastical authorities, who count as Greeks all those who belong to the Greek Church. It is in this way that we say that in Bosnia there are more Greeks than Catholics amongst the Christians. The word *Roumeleti* is used in Macedonia to designate those who belong both to the Greek Church and the Greek nationality. In favour of their claims the Greeks also refer to the school statistics, which show that in their schools there are more pupils than in those of the Bulgarians. But as Greek is the language of the Church, and that until recently education was entirely in her hands, it is quite natural that nearly all the schools should have been Hellenic as they were in Bulgaria thirty years ago. We must not forget, too, that the Bulgarian schools are closed, and the teachers sent into exile by the Turks at the request of the Greeks.

The Hellenes have invented two arguments to support.

their claim to the countries inhabited by Bulgarians. The first is their "ethnocratic pre-eminence." They are nobler than the Bulgarians who ought to submit to them.\* The second argument was propounded recently by the Greek Minister in London (November, 1885). As the land formerly belonged to the Hellenes, its present occupation by Bulgarians does not suffice to justify its being adjudged to them. The right of the Greeks is imprescriptible. It would therefore follow that New Holland, New Zealand, Tasmania, having been discovered by the Dutch, ought to belong to Holland, because these countries have Dutch names. The English have colonized them, but that gives them no right of possession. It is difficult to discuss such theories, and distressing even to have to notice them.

These are the demands of Greek aggrandizement according to a Greek statesman, who seems to be a good representative of his country's hopes (*Contemporary Review*, November, 1885).†

The frontier of Greece should start from the mouth of the Apsos (*Semeni*), it should follow the course of this river to the northern shore of the lake of Ochrisa, then run a little to the north of Bitolia (*Monastir*), crossing the Axios (*Varldar*), opposite Strommitya, then the Strymon (*Struma*), to the north of Melenikon, and going on to Nevrokop on the Mestos, which river would then become the frontier line. Melenikon is certainly a Greek city, as is Stanimaka in Roumelia, but a glance at Kiepert's map,

\* One of the most eminent *savants* of Athens wrote to me : " You are mistaken about the Bulgarians ; they are barbarians, and such they will remain. They are of Tartar race, and consequently not readily civilized. Christianity itself is not enough to soften them. They have some good qualities, but they are those of beasts of burden, including the instinct to store like the ant. Whilst I am writing to you I have half a score of Bulgarian masons working at a house which I have given to my daughter Athéné as dowery ; they work well, but are stupid. More than half the masons in Athens are Bulgarians."

† The authorship, or at least the inspiration, of this much-discussed article was an open secret, it being attributed to the facile pen of a well-known Greek diplomatist resident in London.

or a list of the names of the villages is enough to convince us that this project incorporates Greek territories almost wholly Bulgarian. Why not give the villages and districts the right of self-government? In places where the Greeks were in the majority their language and influence would prevail in the administration. It is because the Greeks prefer to appeal to the armed authority of the Turks to oppress the Bulgarians that they refuse to demand the carrying out the 23rd Article of the Treaty of Berlin, which, honestly applied, would put an end to these ethnic disputes. If Greeks will not admit autonomy and liberty, you must then gain your end by oppression.

Gladstone, who is such a friend to the Greeks that he gained for them the Ionian Isles and their recent increase in Thessaly, does not hesitate to condemn severely their position with respect to Bulgaria.\*

I have a complete collection of authentic and circumstantiated facts of the numberless and nameless sufferings of the Bulgarians in Macedonia; it is a martyrology that would fill a volume. That I may not be accused of prejudice, I will only say that their position is like that of the Bulgarians under the Turkish rule, such as Blanqui described it forty years ago. Blanqui, visiting the neighbourhood of Nisch, where a recent insurrection had just been quelled, was deeply moved by the condition of the country. The *hatti-sheriff* of Gulhani, sent by the Porte to satisfy the demands of the Christian Powers, far from affording any relief to the *rayas*, only made their fate more terrible.

"The only change which resulted," said Blanqui, "merely concerned the finances, and was directed with the greatest harshness against the

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\* "The See of Constantinople and its followers, little to their credit, ostensibly took the side of the Turks during the late war; and that, though the Patriarch may have acted under compulsion, yet it has been clearly shown that a dread of Slav preponderance, and of Russian interest or intrigue in connection with it, has become a powerful and even a leading motive with most of the rival race" (Gladstone, *Nineteenth Century*, June, 1879).

Christians. Until then they had paid their taxes directly to the Pacha, and it is well known to what exactions that system had given rise. The *hatti-sheriff*, in centralizing the Government receipts, which were however made by special governmental agents, appeared to remove the former exactions from the people, but it was precisely the contrary that happened. The various taxes imposed on the *rayas* were *added together* and represented by a sum which included them all, but did not increase them; the unfortunate Christians however, instead of paying once, were compelled to pay them two or three times. The collectors pretended that they had not received the taxes which the people asserted they had really paid. As they, for the most part, could neither read nor write, they were deceived with receipts which gave smaller sums or fixed earlier dates. Most frequently they had no written receipts, but notches were cut in little bits of wood, always lost or out of the way when they might be useful to a ratepayer, always at hand when they bore witness against him. After all, it was still the old system of extortion and violence, with hypocrisy added, and a deceptive appearance of legality. That is what the Turkish mind had made of the *hatti-sheriff*—an atrocious deception.

“When this odious jugglery was set in action, the Bulgarians were not slow in pointing it out and complaining about it. They represented that they were in a worse condition than before, and that it was impossible to pay such exorbitant taxes, above their means; they asked for time; delays were granted, which did not increase their resources, and the time came when they must pay. Now, in Turkey, those who are behindhand with their taxes have soldiers sent to live in their homes. These soldiers install themselves in the ratepayer’s house day and night, rummage everywhere, use everything as if it was their personal property, and leave the inhabitants no peace. Bulgaria was soon covered with these soldiers in charge, especially in the valley of Nyssa and the neighbouring villages. At some places these men were driven away, in others they were overpowered and killed. Sabri Pacha, who then commanded the province, hastily sent for the Albanians, as the regular troops were nearly all concentrated in Constantinople. These Arnauts saw in the appeal nothing but an opportunity to exercise their usual powers of theft—the only trade they know. They flocked into this part of Bulgaria, and despoiled the unfortunate peasants without form of trial, as in a town taken by assault. It is impossible to say to what lengths they might have been driven by despair, if this insurrection had found efficacious and open support from a neighbouring nation.

“The insurrection was suppressed, but terror remained in their souls. Without having seen the gloomy despair of the Bulgarian peasants, and the insolence of the Albanian hordes, it is impossible to have any idea of the sufferings of the Christians during this short but terrible period. Europe, which has rightly taken a lively interest in the cause

of the blacks, does not know enough of what exists at her doors, or, one may say, in her bosom ; more than seven millions of men, Christians like ourselves, who are treated as dogs because they are Christians, by a Government to which all the Christian Powers send accredited Ambassadors !

“ Europe does not sufficiently understand that at the present time there is not a single Christian women in Turkey whose honour is not at the mercy of the first Mussulman whom she has the misfortune to please ! Europe does not know that the Turks enter a Christian's house whenever they like and take whatever pleases them ; that complaint is more dangerous than resistance ; and that the simplest quarters given to the lowest men in the most benighted countries would be immense favours to the inhabitants of Bulgaria. . . .

“ Let the Ottoman Empire be maintained, if its preservation be necessary to the peace of Europe ; but let its administration be reformed from top to bottom, for our honour as Christian and civilized nations. The misrule endured by the Bulgarians is an outrage on the dignity of human nature ; it is a permanent insult to European Governments, as was the rule of piracy in Algiers, before our conquest. A single word would be enough to end this scandal ; when will Europe utter it ? Many coalitions have been made for the sake of political interests, cannot we have one in the interest of humanity ? ”

What a difference between this hell and freed Bulgaria ! Unhappily, the condition of the Bulgarians in Macedonia is now even more fearful than that of the *rayas*, described Blanqui, because the Turks and Greeks, fearing the formation some time of the Great Bulgaria constituted at San Stefano, join their hatreds and powers of injury to repress, and, if possible, to extirpate the Slav element.

The miseries which overwhelm these unfortunate Bulgarians may be divided into three chapters—brigandage, the extortion and violence of Turkish *Beyes*, and religious persecution inflicted by the Pharaniote priests.

Bands of brigands infest the whole province, to the outskirts of the capital. A consul, an English naval captain, and, recently, an English lady, were carried off from the near neighbourhood of Salonica, and only released for enormous ransoms. Almost every day, in the interior of the country, a traveller or a rich peasant is carried off to the mountains and obliged to pay large sums. The bandits compel the villagers to give them all they need : food,

clothing, arms, ammunition. Woe to those who resist or denounce them! their houses are pillaged and burned, and their women are outraged. The district of Pianetse has been so often attacked, that half the villages are destroyed or deserted. Five villages and more than 1,500 houses have completely disappeared. The villages of Papraditza, Oreche, and Negelevo were surprised and set on fire; some of the bandits were taken, but they offered bribes and were allowed to escape, and still continue their depredations. The police are inert, insufficient, and do not wish to attack the brigands; their only reward would be gun-shots. Thus brigandage becomes the only lucrative trade. Commerce, exchange of goods, is liable to so many risks and costs so much that it has to be given up. All economical activity is paralyzed.

The exactions and violences of the *Beys* are not less bad for agricultural activity. They think themselves at liberty to dispose as they like of everything that belongs to the peasants; they impose ruinous *corrées* (*angarias*); if they are pleased with a horse or an ox, they carry it off by force, or offer a ridiculous price. If the Bulgarian resists, he is killed like a dog, or if by chance they are brought to trial, they are always acquitted, for, they assert that they have only used a legitimate right of self-defence. Here are some recent examples. In the town of Kratovo, the *kaimakan*, the *buluk-dachy*, and the rural guard went to eat and drink in the house of a well-to-do Bulgarian, then they drove away the parents to dishonour the daughters. In the village of Zeletowo, the ox of a Bulgarian, Yano, entered the courtyard of a Turk, who in a rage killed Yano. In the village of Maslonko, Traitchop and his two daughters were found murdered. The schoolmaster of Pletvar, Spiro Naidoff, was seized by his Turkish neighbours and beaten to death. In the village of Negilovo, three Bulgarians—Storanoff, Georgnieff, and Istkoff—were taken and killed, after first putting out their eyes and flaying them. The assassins Issso-Idres, Feyzo, and Zeco, were not brought to justice. We need not be astonished at these



facts. All armed men, with absolute power over defenceless beings, will abuse it, what will they not do when it is to their interest to ruin or destroy them?

The persecutions of the Greeks are still more cruel, because they call down the severities of the Turkish administration upon the leaders of the Bulgarian nationality, schoolmasters, popes, and all those who have received some education. The Greeks have thought for a long time that Macedonia ought to belong to them. They only were educated, they only represented Christian civilization in the face of Islamism. The faithful obeyed the Greek clergy blindly. The Bulgarians, poor brutes, humbly cultivating the soil, like the Finns, in Finland or the Letts in Courland, had no more the sentiment of a distinct nationality than the oxen that drew their ploughs. But for the last twenty years, especially since the Treaty of San Stefano and the constitution of an independent Bulgaria, the national idea has woken again with irrepressible force amongst the Bulgarians of Macedonia. They had preserved dimly in the country places their customs, language, songs. They were never Hellenized, although they had learned some Greek words at church, or in the rare ecclesiastical schools.

The Porte refused investiture to the Bulgarian bishops, for the districts conceded to them by the firman of 1872; but the Constitution of the Bulgarian Exarchat permitted the inhabitants of Slav race to withdraw themselves definitely from the power of the Pharianote clergy by joining their own national Church. This is what arouses in the Greeks, and especially in their prelates, an indignation, a fury, which, to the discredit of all Christian and human sentiment, impels them to use the most odious methods of repression. They denounced the Bulgarian schools as sources of revolutionary propaganda, and the teachers as *comitas*, that is, as affiliated to insurrectional committees. The schools were closed, and the masters sent in chains to Salonica, thrown into the fortress of Kanli Koula, "the tower of blood," and thence sent into exile to Asia Minor,

that is, sent to death. To read a Bulgarian book is to belong to the Bulgarian Exarchat, to sing a national song is a crime in the eyes of Greeks and Turks, for it plainly betrays the hope that "the Great Bulgaria" may yet arise. The movement is thus deprived of all those who could support and guide it.

Some facts, taken by chance, will better explain the cruelties of this systematic persecution. The village of Zelénitché, about three leagues from Castoria, has about 1,500 inhabitants, all Bulgarians, all belonging to their national Church, except eight families of Hellenes, who continue to acknowledge the authority of the Greek Bishop. The two places of worship built by the faithful are given to these eight families; the others are driven out and even plundered. They complained to the Turkish *Kaïmakan*; instead of having the justice of their claim acknowledged, they were compelled to sign a paper by which they promised not to enter their churches until they had recognized Monseigneur Kyrillos, the Greek prelate, as their bishop. Al-Kemali Pacha, the Governor-General, was passing that way, they appealed to him; his answer was to send the last schoolmaster of the district of Castoria under escort to Monastir. At Negovan, at Krouchevo, at Stroumitza, at Doiren, at Geugelii, and many other places, the Bulgarian churches were occupied by the Greek priests, supported by Turkish authority. At Salonica they were confiscated by the Pharianote Archbishop, and two of them were shut up, notwithstanding the incessant demands of the faithful. Here are the exact words addressed by the *Montasscrif* of Bitolia to a Bulgarian deputation, "I allow your church to be opened, but on the condition that it is under the Greek Patriarch and that the offices are said in the Greek language; for you, Bulgarians, with your species of Russian language, you are the declared enemies of the Ottoman Empire."

In a meeting of Greeks at Salonica, to protest against certain facts that I had pointed out in the English press, the Pharianote Archbishop said finally, "He who is a

Bulgarian is a Panslavist, an agitator, a revolutionist. Let us ask Galeb Pacha to close the schools of these enemies of our Government."

Printing presses were forbidden to the Bulgarians by the Government, all their classic books had to come from Roumelia, and were subjected to very severe censorship. The only Bulgarian college in Salonica was under strict oversight, and the possession of a suspicious book was punished with extreme severity. Last year a scholar and his father were exiled to Arabia, because the boy had in his desk a picture of a Russian cavalry officer. All the efforts of the Pharianote clergy, supported by the money of the Greeks in Athens and Constantinople, to maintain their supremacy and to Hellenize the Bulgarians of Macedonia will not succeed. It is too late; the national sentiment has awoke in these unhappy beings, so long crushed under a double yoke; they see their brothers of Bulgaria and Roumelia set free, and they hope to be free in their turn also. Certainly it is hard on the Hellenes, who, for centuries, have represented all the intellectual and religious culture of the province, to be obliged to bend to the wishes of the ignorant and despised masses; but, if they also think about the awakening of nationalities, they will see that this movement is henceforth irresistible. The Germans in Bohemia, the Hungarians in Croatia, the Swedes in Finland, also profess that they are the organs of civilization, and yet they have been obliged to recognize the rights of the populations, too long ignored. And what is more extraordinary still the Valaque Tzintzares, who formerly submitted unresistingly to be Hellenized, are beginning to remember their Latin origin with pride, and to enter into relations with Roumania, whence they receive books and papers. These helots of Roman colons have remained indestructible in the midst of the Albanians, Bulgarians, and Greeks, who surround them on all sides; it will be necessary some time to recognize their nationality and to give them a place in the future Balkan federation.

A remedy must be found for this fearful situation in

Macedonia, that Europe would not tolerate for a moment if she thoroughly understood it—but what remedy? It was indicated in Lord Derby's note of February 13, 1876, drafted by the Conservative Ministry, and by the proposals of reform in the Turkish provinces made at the same time by Russia. It is summed up in this extract from the English note: "A system of administrative local autonomy, that is, a system of local institutions giving the people the right of settling their local business themselves, and guarantees against arbitrary despotism." Ideas such as these instigated Article 23 of the Treaty of Berlin, which promised autonomous rule to the provinces of European Turkey similar to that which is enforced in Crete.\* Only it would

\* This 23rd Article is so often referred to in the debates which the present phase of the Eastern Question gives rise to, that I think I cannot do better than quote the precise terms here:

"The Sublime Porte undertakes scrupulously to apply in the island of Crete the Organic Law of 1868, with such modifications as may be considered equitable.

"Similar laws, adapted to local requirements, excepting as regards exemption from taxation granted to Crete, shall also be introduced into the other parts of Turkey in Europe for which no special organization has been provided by the present treaty.

"The Sublime Porte shall depute Special Commissioners, in which the native element shall be largely represented, to settle the details of the new laws in each province.

"The scheme of organization resulting from these labours shall be submitted for examination to the Sublime Porte, which, before putting then into force, shall consult the European Commission instituted for Eastern Roumelia."

Mr. T. Erskine Holland, Professor of the University of Oxford and a member of the Institute of International Law, has published a most interesting work, "The European Concert in the Eastern Question; a Collection of Treaties," &c., Oxford, 1885. On page 292, we find in what manner these clauses of the 23rd Article have been carried out: "In a verbal note dated June 27, 1879, Sir A. H. Layard insisted on the nomination of special commissions. The Porte instead of acceding to this demand drew up a programme of organic regulations in conformity, in substance, with the statute of Eastern Roumelia, and had this examined at Adrianople and Salonica, with a view to adapting it to local exigencies. In April, 1880, the Powers were applied to, to request the commission for Eastern Roumelia to look

be better to take as model of organization, not that of Crete, where claims or revolts are incessant, but that of Lebanon, which works to general satisfaction, since it was introduced there under the auspices of France. Each village, each canton, administers its own affairs by means of an elected council. The cantons where sects and races are intermixed have a mixed council, in which the different elements, Maronite, Greek, Catholic, Druse, Metuali, are represented in proportion to their importance. A Christian governor, appointed with the consent of the Powers, is at the head of the province, assisted by a committee, to which the different groups send delegates. Ancient hatreds are disarmed, Mohammedans and Christians of the different Churches work together for the general good. A similar system, established by Austria, at Sarajevo, produces there the best results, as I have before shown.

The execution of Article 23 of the Treaty of Berlin, so understood, would give satisfaction to the rival claims of the different nationalities. Macedonia would go neither to Bulgaria, Servia, nor Greece; she would belong to and govern herself, under the suzerainty of the Porte. None of the five races, Turks, Albanians, Wallacks, Greeks, nor Bulgarians, would be sacrificed; each commune would administer its own affairs, and in mixed localities each group sufficiently important would be represented. The communal council, not the parliament or central council, is the most essential. It is here that the hostilities of race must be lessened, and it would not be difficult to effect this, for even peasant populations have everywhere shown themselves capable of managing their local interests; but the working of such an administration ought to be under the surveillance of a European commission, as it has been in Roumelia, otherwise the opposition of the Turkish authorities and of the Pharianote hierarchy would make all reform illusory.

into the programmes thus modified. The Committee met, and by a final act, dated August 23, 1880, signified its approval of the proposed scheme, after which it adjourned indefinitely."

It is strange that Europe and Turkey do not understand what an advantage it would be to them if Macedonia were well administered. A vast amphitheatre, sheltered from the cold winds by the mountains which encircle it on all sides except on the south ; watered by three fine rivers, the Vardar, the Struma, and the Carasu ; having fine pastures on the uplands, where the flocks find abundant pasture in all seasons, and fertile fields in the plains, where the mild climate of the Ægean Sea favours the growth both of the plants of the temperate and of the Mediterranean zone ; with good ports and wonderful gulfs ; covered, formerly, in the time of Greece, Rome, and Byzantium, with rich and populous towns, of which the traces still remain ; inhabited now in the interior by the most industrious farm labourers, and on the littoral by the soberest sailors of the Continent. Macedonia would soon become an important source of income to the Porte, and a more important opening for European manufactures than the distant colonies and islands about which the great States are now disputing. But, for this, it must have a government which ensures security and respect for personal rights. Let the Bulgarians enjoy the fruits of their labour and they will grow rich, for they know both how to produce and how to save ; then, thanks to the railways, England may send her iron and hardware, Austria and Germany their low-priced stuffs, and France her ornaments. Because all, including Greece and Servia, appeal to the Treaty of Berlin for the advantage of Turkey, they ought, at least, to see the best regulations contained in the treaty are carried out.

Let the Turk reflect on this ; by the mouth of a sincere but clear-sighted ally, Lord Salisbury, England has uttered a solemn warning. After reading the report which accompanied the Treaty of Berlin to the House of Commons on July 18, 1878, Lord Salisbury added these words, “ The question whether Turkey will seize this opportunity, probably the last, which she owes to the intervention of the European Powers, England especially, or if she will let it slip, will depend on the sincerity with which the Turkish

statesmen endeavour, henceforth, to fulfil the duties of good governors and to carry out the reforms." On the 7th of last October, Lord Salisbury, declaring the policy of his Government, said: "Our policy must be to support Turkey wherever her rule is beneficent; but, wherever it is proved by facts that the Government is mischievous to the welfare of the people, we ought, in that case, to endeavour to arouse and strengthen independent nationalities which will bring a happy and important reinforcement to the future of liberty in Europe."

If the Turks are obstinate and refuse to listen to good advice, two dangers threaten them: first, the permanent troubles will complete their ruin, as one may see now; and, in the second place, foreign intervention would become necessary to put an end to an intolerable state of things. The improvement accomplished in Bosnia since she was freed from Ottoman authority, and the proximity of the Austrian armies, encamped within two or three days' march of the Mitrovitza-Salonica railway, make it easy to foretell to what Power Europe would entrust this humanitarian mission.

As Lord Salisbury said in 1878 and 1881, the Ottoman Empire can only continue to exist by ensuring order and security to the peoples who are still under its rule; for it will be more and more unable to suppress their revolts and it will find European opinion less and less inclined to tolerate the barbarities that would follow any attempt at repression.

## CHAPTER XI.

### CONSTANTINOPLE. THE TURKISH RULE.

I STARTED by the Ottoman railway for Constantinople. The journey of two hundred kilometres takes two days to accomplish, there being only one train a day, which stops for the night at Adrianople. This recalled the Italian *vetturino* of former times. It is a good way of seeing the country for those who are not hurried, and there is no hurry in the East.

Just before we started I saw deposited with great care and even respect, in a compartment of the special carriage that had been reserved by the managers for me, two small mysterious cases ; their owner never lost sight of them, and remained alone in his compartment during the whole journey. Did they contain gold? No, but something even more valuable—essence of roses, and I was told that it was worth 12,000 Turkish pounds or £10,600. It came from the Valley of Roses, at Kezanlik. This culture requires much work and care. The rose-trees only flourish well upon the slopes of the hills, where the air is sharp and bracing ; they must be dug and dressed two or three times a year, and the plant produces nothing for the first five or six years. The flowers begin to be gathered in June, and flowering continues from 25 to 40 days. To obtain a *mouskalé* (4 grs. 81) at least 8 kilogrammes of flowers are required, and up to 15 if the spring has been very dry.



The essence is worth from 5 to 8 francs the *mouskalé*, or from 1,040 francs (over £40) to 1,614 francs (over £64) the kilogramme.

I saw newly planted rice-fields to the right of the line on the lower slope of the chain of Rhodope, which encloses the watershed of Maritza to the west. Since the Turks have gone, the Bulgarian cultivator introduces everywhere the rich produce which has hitherto been confined to the valleys of the Balkans. Upon the low ground by the river-side, I noticed some square fields covered with grass and surrounded by small dykes; these were old rice-fields, turned into meadows since the culture of rice was prohibited, because it caused malarial fever. An excellent measure.

Adrianople is situated in a very fertile plain, at the confluence of three rivers—the Maritza, Tondja, and Arda—which carry away the waters coming from the Rhodope and the Balkans. Here, in primitive times, was the town of Oretias, with a cyclopean wall, parts of which have been discovered. It was the capital of the kings of Thrace, and the Romans built “the city of Adrian,” Adrianopolis, on the same spot. The Sultans resided here before the taking of Constantinople. Their ancient palace, the old seraglio, half ruined, is still very interesting, and conveys, much better than the modern palaces on the Bosphorus, the idea of what the residence of the “Grand Seigneur” was in former times.

The mosques are very fine, especially that of Selim; it opens into a court of white marble, and is adorned by a portico with ancient columns of rare marbles—ancient green, *Cipoline marble*, *Syenitic granite*, from old Roman temples. The dome, of striking boldness, is supported on four gigantic porphyry pillars, and is higher than that of St. Sofia. The Eski-Djami, or the Old Mosque, which dates from the time of Mohammed I., and the Muradie, built by Murad I., are older than those of Constantinople. They were built by Greek architects, who imitated St. Sofia. The khans, or inns,

which date from the same time, were also superb buildings. A road crossed the Peninsula from the Sea of Marmora to Belgrade. "In the sixteenth century," said M. A. Dumont, "no state had executed larger or better public works than the Ottoman Empire." This was also the period of the building of the great mosques. The mosque is the symbol of the East, because there all rest on faith. This is lost, and the Turks to-day, poisoned by contact with Europe, are incapable of the smallest enterprize for the public good, or even of keeping up the monuments of their former greatness.

Adrianople, its streets crowded with people in picturesque costumes, its open shops on each side—the way in which all trades are carried on in full view—has a more Oriental appearance than Stamboul. In the courtyard of the Mosque of Selim ragged soldiers are encamped. Before the *Konak* ("palace of the *Vali*") some officers of high rank were strutting about, in uniforms covered with gold; by their side were sentinels in ragged clothes, fine types of soldiers—strong, thin, and brown. The public promenade with its running water, shaded by magnificent trees, is a charming place; but it was absolutely empty: the men smoke in the cafés; the women are shut up in the harems. Adrianople is the second town of the empire, and is supposed to have from 60,000 to 100,000 inhabitants; but nobody knows exactly; there is no civil registration and no statistics. I was shown the houses in the principal street where, during the last war, three or four Bulgarians were hung every morning to teach the rest to keep quiet. Nothing here shows the influence of the railway or of modern activity. Along the boulevard which extends for more than a kilometre between the town and the station, are only a few cafés, with a tolerable hotel, where I supped beneath the shade of orange-trees, which, alas, were in tubs, for they had to be taken in for the winter.

At San Stefano, where I stopped at M. Hanlin's, Director

of the Southern railways, I received the kindest hospitality. I could go by train every day to Constantinople in forty minutes. San Stefano has nothing which recalls Turkey; it is like a village on the Bay of Naples. The white houses by the sea are inhabited by Greek fishermen and by foreigners. I was lodged in a charming villa belonging to the Persian Ambassador. Cherry-trees in fruit and pomegranates in flower shaded my windows. The dining-room terminated in a glass balcony; we could see all the ships that sailed over the azure waters to or from the Golden Horn, and, in the distance, the purple outlines of the mountains of Asia. In sight of this enchanting picture one learns to understand the enjoyment of the Oriental *Kaif*. People come here for sea-bathing. The tepid water is so clear, that when I plunged in I could see the charming colours of the shells and sea-weeds two metres below.

On the right, is the house where the Treaty of San Stefano was signed; it is an Italian *palazzo*, with a large garden by the side of the sea. It was empty. It was for sale, but no purchaser could be found, even for 30,000 francs (£1,200), and only because the waves have undermined the sea-wall which needs repairs, and there is no money to be found. In France or Italy this beautiful dwelling would be worth more than £4,000, but there is universal want, and property is exposed here to so many risks and worries! Russia ought to purchase and keep in repair this residence in which she signally showed her foresight.

After so many others have described the wonders of Constantinople and its environs, it is needless for me to do so. Was I under a wrong impression? The Bosphorus recalled Lake Como, and the entrance to the Sea of Marmora the Bay of Naples; but the hills and heights seemed more uniform, and the vegetation decidedly less southern. The *bise*, which blows in winter from Russia over the Black Sea, kills the southern vegetation. It is only in Princes' Islands that olive-trees are found.

I travelled to Constantinople every day with M. Patcher,

the doctor of the Oriental Railway Company; he is the best imaginable guide, speaking all the languages of the country, and, as a doctor, thoroughly knowing Turkish life. We visited the great mosques: the Achmedieh, built in 1610 by Achmed I., with its six minarets and its vast enclosure planted with trees; the Bayezidieh, built in 1505, by Bajazet, with a charming court, surrounded by a colonnade with porphyry pillars and shaded with cypress, whence innumerable pigeons flew down to eat the corn which is ensured to them by a special legacy of a Sultan; the Suleimaneh, built from 1550 to 1556, by Solomon the Magnificent, who placed there two gigantic columns of Egyptian granite of four metres in circumference, coming from the *Augusteon* of Justinian; the Mohammedieh, the oldest of all after St. Sofia, built by Christodoulos, a Greek architect, in 1469, under Mohammed the Conqueror; and lastly, the Yeni-djami, or new Mosque of the Sultana Validé, mother of Mohammed IV.

In the Grand Bazaar—a whole world and a real labyrinth—nothing is to be seen but European merchandise of the worst quality, except in the centre, where very fine antiques were sold at a reasonable price. The artistic industry of the East is dead.

The walls are a marvellous sight; their double range, protected by strong square towers, give a great idea of Byzantium. They explain its long resistance, when already the tide of Ottoman invaders surrounded it on all sides. The Crusaders took the town from the sea, on the side of the Golden Horn, thanks to the blind courage of the blind Dandolo. They pillaged and ravaged Constantinople more pitilessly than the Turks, and so weakened the forces of the empire, that they brought about its fall, and the triumph of the Mussulmans.

It is interesting to read in the touching pages of M. Etienne Vlastos, "*Les derniers jours de Constantinople*" (1453), the changes of fortune during the heroic defence of the town by the Emperor Constantine, who died, after prodigies of valour, sword in hand. Christianity, by giving up

in a stupid and cowardly manner its last stronghold on the Bosphorus, opened to the Ottomans the whole Peninsula, Hungary and Vienna, and doomed the East to barbarism for four centuries. Notwithstanding the reconciliation of the two Churches, managed by the Emperor John Paleologos himself at the Council of Florence (1438-1439), the Pope only sent fifty armed men against the Infidels.

The Empire of Byzantium fell exactly as the Ottoman Empire is now falling. It lost its provinces in succession; poverty was extreme. The revenue, which amounted under the Macedonian emperors to £20,800,000, had fallen to £240,000 or £200,000 of our money. The half-million inhabitants of Constantinople were reduced to 80,000. The tree, having lost its branches, withered where it stood.

I visited a large farm near San Stefano, which belonged to a rich Armenian, Oannes Bey, whose daughter had married the son of Nubar Pacha, and whose brother, Abraham Pacha, owns a palace on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorous, set amidst a forest which extends further than eye can see. The farm buildings resemble a fortress. They grow wheat almost exclusively upon land which lies fallow for several years, and is never manured. Some flax is also cultivated, but, strange to say, they only gather the seed; the stem, which in Belgium is worth as a textile £48 or £60 per hectare, is thrown away. If the land were manured and the seed sown more closely, they would gain yarn that would be worth in one year five times the price of the land. The corn is thrashed by horses or oxen treading round and dragging hurdles, into the under side of which large flints are fastened; the straw is chopped up. What primitive ways, and yet so close to the capital, and upon the land of a rich and intelligent agronomist!

In returning to San Stefano I travelled with the Director-General of Agriculture; he was an educated Turk, who had studied in France. He told me that he had bought a farm of 400 hectares, at 35 francs per hectare, at an hour's railway journey from Constantinople, and near the station. He intended to transform the system of cultivation by

artificial meadows, by abolishing the fallow, keeping cattle, and manuring the soil. Clover grows well, and lucerne still better ; it yields two abundant crops. "Is it not incredible," he said, "that we received butter from the interior of Bulgaria, whilst close to us we have very good land at a low price." Strange, truly, but easily explicable. Where there is no security, agricultural progress is impossible.

There is a register of the titles for property, but in disputed cases two titles are often produced, one, of course, a forged one. Of the two parties in court, he who gives the highest bribes will gain the cause, not the owner of the real title.

An appeal to justice is illusory. The Ottoman Railway Company added a shed to a station quite in the country. The neighbouring landowner pretended that it was half upon his land ; the boundaries were badly marked and the few metres in dispute were worth only from eight to twelve shillings at most ; the Turk demanded £400. The Company pulled down the building, and, notwithstanding, the judge imposed a fine of £120. Of course, the spoil would be divided, and the judge would take the largest share.

The English Company which has made the railway worked by ropes, between Galata and the central street of Pera, has bought a large piece of land on the square adjoining the central station, intending to build good houses, with large and elegant shops on the ground floor. This would be a desirable improvement, as in Pera there are no attractive shop windows, but the municipality found an ingenious method of cheating the Company. They advertised for sale a strip of land in the square, two metres in width, which hid the whole piece of land belonging to the Company. An Armenian bought it for £1,600, but the bargain was not concluded ; they expect a higher bid from the Company, which will lose much more if buildings are put up in front of its land.

The Captain of the Port demanded several free passes on the Ottoman railways. They gave him only one ; he was angry and prohibited the ships from access to the pier of

the railway station on the Golden Horn. It was necessary to pacify him. When cranes were put up at this wharf to assist in unloading vessels, the *hamals*, porters, rebelled and gathered round the cranes, crying out that they would be ruined. The Sultan is the protector of the corporation of *hamals*; he prohibited them from being forcibly driven away; the cranes were stopped working, but steam power was applied, and opposition was overcome by this mysterious agency. Machinery, and not the Sultan's authority, came to the aid of Western civilization.

A Catholic prelate with his coadjutors and suite went to Adrianople; he took his seat majestically in a reserved compartment, but refused to pay for his tickets, on the pretext that he was travelling for holy work; they dared not turn him out by force, but they sent him the bill. It has never been paid. Law and justice are words which have no meaning here.

Infanticide by abortion or by poison is rampant, and the police take no notice of it. Dr. Y. said to the English economist, Senior, "I avoid Turkish houses that I may not know their terrible secrets; sometimes a wife is poisoned by her rival, sometimes an unmarried daughter or a son is put out of the way to benefit a brother." I am told there is even a special phrase to describe it: "The child wept, now it rests."

The impression left upon me by what I have seen in Constantinople is melancholy. I had been greatly irritated by the evil that the detestable Turkish administration had produced in the provinces; here, I felt deep commiseration. I saw a nation endowed with manly and noble qualities dying. We read in history of the decay and death of empires. I had never quite understood the exact meaning of these great words. Throughout Europe are signs of great and general progress, and it seems to us as the natural development and growth of nations. At Cologne, everywhere along the Rhine, at Wurtzburg, above all at Vienna, I had seen splendid new boulevards, whole suburbs of pretty and comfortable houses, public buildings of all

kinds, built by the help of millions of people, aided by the most perfect technical arts ; churches, museums, universities, theatres, institutes, palaces, houses of parliament ;—and in this magnificent capital, that, they say, ought some time to become the centre of the civilized world, I found, amidst the universal misery of governors and governed, ancient monuments in ruins, houses crumbling to pieces, people dying from hunger, desolation spreading as in the provinces. The essential question which every historian should set himself to solve is this : What are the causes of the rise or fall of States ?

I entered Constantinople by the railway, which, after Yedi-Koulé, the Seven Towers, till the central station on the shore of the Golden Horn, traverses the town for a length of about eight kilometres, alongside the ancient walls which rise out of the sea. On both sides are nothing but dilapidated or half-fallen houses. The railway itself destroyed hundreds of habitations ; the Company paid for them, but the State which appropriated the payment is said to have given nothing to the owners ; cannot the Sultan dispose of the property of his subjects ? One of these ejected proprietors, with whom I travelled, has for ten years sent in his claims to the successive ministers ; notwithstanding help in high places, he got nothing ! It would have cost too much to pay all. Throughout the length of the walls, and especially under the shade of their arches, thousands of these unhappy people are sheltered under boards, mats, branches, which look like swallows' nests. Naked children and women hidden under rags are to be seen, and they are Turkish families reduced to this utter destitution.

I visited the seraglio, the old palace of the Sultan's, whose wonders have been so well described by M. de Amicis. Here in what was formerly a beautiful park, under the shade of cypress tress, were gilded kiosques, marble baths, Moorish pavilions, magnificent edifices to suit all tastes. Scarcely anything remains of all these splendours, damaged by fire, and successively given over to the inclemencies of



the seasons. A beautiful avenue of plane-trees, bare walls enclosing gardens of cabbages and artichokes; the Tchinili-Kiosk, a beautiful edifice of 1466, which has been preserved because M. Reinach has classed and catalogued the Museum of Antiquities there; the building where the Imperial treasury is kept, and the Porta Augusta, the *Bali-Humaioun*. Part of the seraglio gardens has been turned into a botanical garden for the use of the school of medicine. I saw there a number of labels, but no plants; these had however been ordered and paid for more than once. The gardeners have only received their wages for two months, payable in *haralis*, cheques, upon the tithes of sheep in Armenia.

Near the Porta Augusta the charming fountain of the Sultan Ahmed has no more water, and the covering, open in places to the light, lets through the rain and snow, which will soon spoil this gem of Eastern architecture. The touching words written upon it in gold and blue mosaic have no longer any meaning: "Open the key of this spring, calling upon the name of God; drink of this water inexhaustible and pure, and pray for the Sultan Ahmed."

In 1681 the French traveller Grelot visited Constantinople, and reported that there were then in the city and suburbs 5,935 fountains, near the mosques and elsewhere. Where are they now?

St. Sofia is the most beautiful religious building that I have seen. St. Peter's at Rome and all churches built after that style—St. Paul's in London, St. Geneviève in Paris, St. Isaac in St. Petersburg—have all sprung from Michael Angelo's bet that he would raise the dome of the Pantheon upon the nave of a basilica. They appear smaller than they really are, because there is no point from which they are wholly visible, and to get a good idea of the grandeur of the dome one must risk a stiff neck. In St. Sofia, on the contrary, we see at once the immense and sublime vault in its simplicity and majesty. Why have not the architects rather copied this? This greatest work of ancient architecture threatens to fall into decay;

the buttresses are shattered, cracks are apparent, the mosaics fall off, and the fragments are sold to tourists. How distressing !

The monuments of Egypt and Greece may last, even when neglected, because the materials are rationally employed ; those of the Roman decadence, like the cathedrals of the Middle Age, are built in defiance of the laws of equilibrium ; they require constant care to guard against the action of the elements and of the laws of gravity. If the revenues of the mosques continue to diminish, and faith to grow weaker, they will fall into ruin in the midst of the general poverty and indifference. In the East, no one cares at all for ancient monuments.

Against the outside walls of St. Sofia, and other mosques, white marble basins are placed, with a long row of taps, for the necessary ablutions ; but there is no water—the aqueducts are broken, the pipes cut, and no one dreams of mending them. Constantine's Aqueduct is the only one which still brings water. All around St. Sofia and the Atmeidan, the most renowned public square, the ancient circus, where the pillar of Theodosius and the ancient serpentine pillar from the temple of Delphi may still be seen, thus in the very centre of Stamboul, there are many fallen houses, and no one thinks of rebuilding them ; yet the situation is excellent and the land ought to be in great demand for building. Not far from here is the reservoir of the thousand columns ; it is much larger than the *Piscina Mirabilis* of Mycæne. Of colossal size, supported by hundreds of ancient pillars, it gave a sufficient supply of water for the immense population of Byzantium. We descended to it over the stones of a ruined arch, and found some poor women were winding silk. There is also the reservoir Basilica, in Turkish *Yéré-batan-Serai*, that is, “the underground palace.” The Greek emperors had provided more than twenty in different parts ; all are dry or filled up with soil, and the town is short of water for drinking, for religious ablutions, and for extinguishing fires. Around the mosques are found the pretty buildings with

cupolas, the medrassahs, where the theological students of the Koran lived. The window-frames were rotten, the glass panes broken, some of the lead of the little cupolas had been stolen, and there were holes where wind and water came in ; many are no longer habitable.

I visited the new palaces on both sides of the Bosphorus, that of Dolma Bagtché and that of Beylar Bey. Reflected in the pure waters of the Bosphorus the effect is charming, but the architecture is commonplace ; and the materials are of detestable quality, plaster and stucco instead of marble or stone ; they will therefore need much care, which is always lacking here. It is proposed to put them under the charge of the Chief of the Eunuchs, when an architect and a good engineer would not be too much ! Everywhere traces of infiltration may be perceived. In the winter garden of Dolma Bagtché, the windows were broken, the pillars bent, decay had begun. The internal decoration of these palaces has cost a fabulous sum ; it resembles that of the Moorish cafés of Paris or Vienna, but is of greatly inferior taste. These residences are quite deserted. The Sultan, Abdul Hamed, lives in Yildiz Kiosk, on the hills, between two large and frightful barracks of saffron yellow, which disgrace the beautiful view of Dolma Bagtché. There only he feels safe from plots. When two of his Ministers seem to agree, he imagines that they are conspiring to dethrone him.

I talked with an educated Turkish officer who had lived in Paris ; he had received his pay for two months out of eight ; fortunately he got rations of rice, meat, coffee, bread, and even cloth for his uniform, otherwise he would have had to beg. But what opportunities of wrongdoing and robbery are given by these supplies in kind ! If any one wishes to understand the universal sufferings arising from an economic crisis, let him come here. The employés, even the military, are no longer paid, the money from the provinces is taken by foreign creditors ; tradesmen sell nothing, and the Ministers have to encounter in their palaces men, and still worse, women, who ask for

their due with tears and lamentations. It is like a death-bed scene, quite heartrending.

A too frequent change of Ministry is one of the greatest evils in the parliamentary system, as it is carried out in some countries, in Turkey it is worse still: between 1876 and 1881 eighteen Cabinets were formed in succession. In 1881 Vefvik upset Said and became Grand Vizier; the next day he was overthrown by Said, who returned triumphant. The caprices of despotism are much worse than the coalitions and intrigues of political parties.

Another trouble: cash is scarce and the monetary system is in a greater state of confusion than in the Middle Ages. Both bank-notes, *caimés*, and copper money, the mediums of large and small payments, have been suppressed. Turkish golden pounds (value 22 f. 50 c.) are never seen. The current medium, besides some *medjidiés* of 20 piastres, is found to be large dirty discs of white metal, *alteliks*, *bechliks*, and piastres, the relative value of which compared with the pound is constantly changing, so that in every street are swarms of moneychangers to whom every one, especially the common people, resort to settle their little-purchases. The remedy of this intolerable evil, which makes business difficult and favours unlawful gains, has been pointed out by a specially competent economist, M. Ottomar Haupt. It consists in issuing bronze and nickel pieces as in Switzerland and Belgium. But nothing is done—*Nitschewo*, what does it matter? *Yarin*, to-morrow.

But there is an evil graver still. Turkey is dying of exhaustion, because her creditors will extract the last drop of blood from her body. In 1883 the Turkish revenue was estimated at 15 millions of Turkish pounds, much of which was not collected, and of which the debt took 5 millions. The Council of Administration for the foreign debt takes the receipts from tobacco, salt, stamps, spirits, fisheries, silks, and the tribute of Roumelia and Cyprus. The Egyptian tribute also goes to other creditors. Every year the Porte gives up some source of revenue to gain a little ready money. But yesterday she pledged the receipts of

the Smyrna-Kassaba Railway to Wilson and Co. to obtain 800,000 Turkish pounds to support the troops she is now collecting. It is no longer the government of a State; it is the permanent liquidation of a bankrupt.

Formerly, the requirements being less, the returns were irregular and the collectors indulgent. Now, the pitiless exigencies of rigorous accounts, on the European footing, put in motion the harsh machinery of the Mussulman treasury, which crushes the ratepayer to the ground. The Porte's position is untenable; it has for all its needs a net revenue of 200 million francs less than little Belgium—which is a neutral State, and has neither colonies, navy, nor enemies—and it has to keep up the rank of a Great Power, to support a large army, a fleet of ironclads, a legion of officials and a sovereign, which cost at least a million sterling per annum; also to administer a large empire, now and then to fight a powerful enemy, constantly to suppress provincial insurrections, and to oppose the covetousness of neighbouring States. To maintain the equilibrium of an enormous mass, agitated by violent upheavals, resting upon a basis which is contracting and melting away, seems an insoluble problem.

The insecurity of property and person hinders all progress. Here are a few incidents taken at random from my note-book. The head manager of the forest of Bellona, belonging to the Oriental railways was carried off by brigands, and had to pay £6,000 ransom. A band attacked the train at the foot of the hill of Dedeagatch, thinking to find the Director-general; fortunately, he had put off his journey for a day, and so escaped. I was introduced to a high dignitary of the Court, who had just received a present from the Sultan of a beautiful estate, near the railway. Having inquired about the condition of agriculture, he answered, "I have not yet visited my property, the country is not very safe." The Department of Agriculture wished to establish some model farms; but it dared not permit the students to reside in the country. A rich landowner told me that he had estates in

Thessaly, the new frontier given to Greece ; part was left under Turkish rule, the rest became Greek territory and has doubled its value. A rich banker owned a remarkably good farm close to Constantinople, it was entirely surrounded by a thick wall, like a fortress ; the brigands made a breach and carried off the buffaloes. Some time before the inhabitants of a neighbouring village came on his land and began to cultivate it. He appealed to the judge to ensure his possession of it ; the *Cadi* told him that these poor people had not enough ground, and he was forced to make a compromise by giving up a quarter of his estate. He let the remaining part to shepherds who, the second year, did not pay the rent agreed upon. He cited them to appear before the *Cadi* ; it was another man, but the answer was similar : " These poor creatures have nothing but their sheep, do you wish to ruin them ? " That is agrarian socialism, such as Ireland asks for. Nothing could be better ; only, property there would be very undesirable.

The Turk is naturally humane ; he has a great pity for the poor, and never ill-treats either a dog or a horse. But the system is not made for the encouragement of agriculture. Add to all " these plagues " venal justice, uncertain succession, unequal and arbitrary taxes, and you will not be then at the end of the litany.

M. de Blowitz, the famous Paris correspondent of the *Times*, in his recent book on Turkey, has found a remedy for the causes of decay ; he has pointed it out, and Progressists and reformers applaud ! There are two milliards of *rakoufs* ; let them be sold ! With the product the national debt may be paid off, roads can be made, and the officials, henceforth of the highest integrity, can have good salaries, the country will flourish again, and flow with milk and honey. What a strange illusion ! Spain and Italy have sold their Church lands ; the operation went on for years, but it has not saved the first from chronic deficit, nor given the second, the *pareggio*, the balance of the budget.

Who then would buy these lands, far away, in remote districts rendered uninhabitable by brigandage, when the

ground lies waste at the very gates of the capital, and when solitude spreads in the most beautiful region of the empire, on the shores of the Sea of Marmora and the Ægean.

M. de Blowitz followed the road towards the forest of Belligrad. "Scarcely," he says, "have the last echoes of Constantinople died on the ear, when we are advancing kilometre by kilometre, for hours, through a barren waste, without shade, house, cottage, tree, with neither fruit nor flower. An immense desert of hundreds of thousands of hectares of wild, uncultivated land, neglected by men and almost by God; it is incredible."

M. Albert Dumont visited the neighbourhood of Rodosto, a beautiful port on the Sea of Marmora, and he wrote in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, July 15, 1871: "The country we passed through was a desert, with immense plains. The ground was grassy and fertile, but it was uncultivated. The deserted villages on all sides indicated former prosperity; the inhabitants had fled, brambles grew over all. Half a century ago many of these villages were still inhabited, others have long been deserted; the cemetery alone remains intact."

Without the persevering work of the Bulgarian peasant, who has continued to labour, notwithstanding exactions and pillage, the rest of European Turkey would be like this region, chiefly inhabited by Greeks. Who then would be willing to buy Church lands in a country where the desert increases so rapidly?

Besides, they have tried to sell the *vakoufs*. Favourites and ministers bought them for a fifth or tenth of their value, a mere song. Twelve millions of piastres were levied upon the treasury of St. Sofia to begin a railway to Trebizond; nothing was done, and St. Sofia is out of repair. *Vakoufs* furnish the only money spent in works of general utility; suppress them, and you hasten the downfall of the empire. It is said that if they were sold the produce of their sale would give the same returns as before, but the price received would never reach the treasury, any more

than the revenue of the mosques, schools, or fountains does ; it would fall into the bottomless pockets of the intermediaries.

There is a still stronger objection, which touches the heart of the problem. By selling the *vakoufs*, the Sultan, the Head of the Faithful, would finally destroy the religious sentiment already so shaken. It would be as if the Pope should put up to auction all the possessions of the Catholic churches and religious communities. For the whole edifice of Mussulman society rests upon faith, which gives honesty, courage, charity, boundless devotion, and which we still find in the soldiers who are away from the demoralizing contact with Europe. In our public and private business affairs we have replaced virtue by written laws and mechanisms of control so perfect that "honesty is the best policy." The Turks know nothing of such organization, which alone could kill the *baksheesh*, and thus, as the ancient faith disappears everything naturally gets out of order. A similar fact has been noticed amongst the peoples of the Pacific ; we acquaint them with our civilization, it kills them.

We have introduced in Turkey those economic scourges, insatiable budgets, permanent deficits, a debt which swallows up all the taxes and still grows on ; whilst the Turks have not understood the elementary truth that the hen can lay no golden egg without food and rest. This points to the real remedy for the ills of the Ottoman Empire and its dependencies. Give the provinces a liberty and autonomy which will ensure to the *rayas* the peaceful enjoyment of the fruits of their labour ; they will till the land well, and enrich the country, and fill the national coffers ; whilst the Porte will no longer have to give its last resources to the bankers of Pera to oppress and keep them down.

It would also be to Turkey's own interest to fulfil the wishes of the Armenians, in carrying out the obligations which the 61st Article of the Berlin Treaty imposes. This article is as follows : "The Sublime Porte undertakes to effect without further delay such local improvements and



reforms as the provinces inhabited by the Armenians require, and to guarantee the latter's security against the Circassians and Kurds. The Porte at stated periods to inform the Powers of the measures employed, who will see that they are properly applied." The Armenians, of the Aryan race, are intelligent, laborious, economical, excellent business men, like the Jews and the Tzintzars. They occupy official appointments in the administration of the Ottoman Empire, and in Constantinople they are the chief promoters of economic activity! Their civilization is amongst the oldest in Asia; their annals date from the earliest historic times, their literature is rich, and continues uninterrupted through all the middle ages; it has furnished philosophers, historians, theologians, and poets.\* This gifted nation, whose territory has been shared between Russia, Turkey, and Persia, is estimated, according to some authors, to comprise in Armenia and Europe together, about 2,500,000 inhabitants, while Mr. Broussali fixes their number at 6,000,000. † They people the high table-

\* See a learned work by M. Felix Nere, "L'Arménie Chrétienne et sa Littérature" (Peeters Louvain, 1886, in 8vo, 403 pp.), in which the author gives a complete inventory of the riches of Armenian literature. He divides its history into three periods. The first and longest stretches from the fourth century to the time of the Crusades, the second extends from that period to the eighteenth century, and the third dates from the year 1786, when Mek-hetar de Sébaste founded in the island of St. Lazare, near Venice, the celebrated learned community whose influence is still so powerful in the East wherever Armenians are to be met with. From this centre of learning issued rules for the formation of the language; the ancient classics were studied and books of all sorts, translations and others, were printed and widely circulated, schools were opened for the instruction of Armenians settled in the Levant, and, thanks to this brotherhood, products of civilization and of intellectual research on the point of being buried in oblivion were again brought to the light of the world. Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Munich, Moscow, and St. Petersburg owe their professorships of Armenian to the impulse given by this community.

† An Armenian who knows his country thoroughly has recently published in the *Revue Française* (May and June, 1886) a very clear account of the present situation of Armenia, its sufferings and legitimate claims.

land of Asia Minor between the Black Sea, the Caspian, and the Mediterranean, thus forming a line of defence for the Bosphorus against Trans - Caucassian Russia. Armenia in the hands of Russia means Constantinople attacked from the south, as Byzantium was formerly by the Ottomans.

The unfortunate Armenians are at the present time most piteously oppressed and pillaged by the Kurds, the Circassians, and more especially by Turkish functionaries. Their condition is very similar to that of the Bulgarians in Macedonia. The only result of the 61st Article of the Berlin Treaty has been to infuriate the Mussulmans who ill-treat them; their persecutions are now more cruel than ever, their one desire being to exterminate them entirely! Quite recently all their schools have been closed, and the teachers exiled. What a suicidal policy! and what barbarous blindness on the part of Turkey! If, instead of all this, communal and provincial autonomy were accorded, the Armenians would prove a source of wealth to the country, their numbers would increase in a fertile province where the population in spite of this fertility does not exceed six persons per square kilometre. They would cease to look to Russia, and would attach themselves to the Ottoman Empire, whose defenders they would become! The taxes paid by Armenia thus enriched would rapidly increase and swell the revenue of the empire. How is it that the Sultan, who is said to be an enlightened man and devoted to the interests of his country, does not see all there is to be gained by carrying out the prescriptions of the 61st Article?

Let the Turks take care; the fall of the Ottoman Empire comes from deeply rooted causes. It began in 1683, with the defeat under the walls of Vienna, and has never since stopped. Turkey has lost successively, Hungary, Transylvania, Croatia, Bessarabia, Servia, Greece, Moldavia, Wallachia, Bosnia, Bulgaria, Roumelia, Thessaly, Algeria, Tunis, Cyprus, Massoah, and now with the system of "temporary occupation under the sovereignty of the

Sultan"—a godsend!—the amputation is so easily performed that the trunk scarcely seems to feel it. As Guizot formerly said, and now Gladstone and Lord Salisbury, the two premiers of the only country which dare speak openly on this matter, the Porte must ensure an endurable government to its provinces, otherwise it will lose them one by one, and the Sultan will have nothing to do but cross over to Asia.

The vital question which haunts me perpetually in this strange city where everything is falling to ruin, although so favoured by nature that all should prosper, is—Can Turkey carry out thorough reforms?

Sir H. Layard, an eminent diplomatist, devoted to the Porte, thought it his duty to deny the correctness of my statements in the *Pall Mall*, concerning the sufferings of the Bulgarians in Macedonia; and, nevertheless, he had formerly, when English Ambassador in Constantinople, depicted the disastrous effects of the Turkish Government in still darker colours. In a despatch of April 27, 1880, after describing the abuses, misdeeds, and general corruption, he adds:

“I have exhausted every diplomatic resource in endeavouring to bring the Sultan and his advisers to a sense of the danger to which the empire is exposed, in consequence of the state of things I have described. I have used every representation, and remonstrance—I may almost say menace—to induce them to put into execution, and to carry out loyally and fully, the promised reforms. I have made incessant personal appeals to the Sultan himself. I have placed before him even in writing, without reserve, the condition of his empire, and the consequent disaffection of his subjects. I have exposed to him the incapacity and corruption of his ministers, and of his high public functionaries. I have pointed out to him the inevitable consequences of his disregard of the warnings which he has received, the forfeiture of the sympathy and friendship of England, and the possible further dismemberment of

his empire, if the European Powers should find themselves compelled to interfere to put an end to the anarchy which exists, and to insure justice and good government to the suffering populations under his rule. But hitherto in vain. His Majesty is ever ready to give promises, which are unfortunately not fulfilled, owing to the evil influences always ready to counteract the impression that may have been made upon him by myself, or by any other Foreign Representative who may hold the same language to him. It is of no use making threats which are not to be put into execution. If we are in earnest in wishing to save this country, but at the same time to reform its administration, so that its populations may be justly and impartially governed, we must be prepared to go further than mere menaces."

The instructions given by Lord Granville to Mr. Goschen in a despatch of May 18th of the same year are equally severe :

"The words of Lord Salisbury and Sir H. Layard have produced no effect. The English officers who were sent to re-organize the *gendarmerie*, a most needful reform, have always met with the opposition of Osman Pacha and the Retrograde Party in the Palace, and receiving neither pay nor position have been obliged to return to England. The Commission for Eastern Roumelia which will be re-constituted in Constantinople would have to examine the project of organic laws for the provinces of Europe in so far as they have been prepared by local commissioners. . . . In the meantime there are certain indispensable measures to ensure order and give some security for the life and property of both Mussulmans and Christians which should be carried out immediately, such as the reorganization of the *gendarmerie*, the suppression of irregular taxes levied on the people, and, above all, the reform of the system of the appointment of officials at Constantinople. In reality, the source of most of the evils from which the people suffer

must be sought at Constantinople, where the high offices in the provinces are sought and given as a means of gaining wealth by oppression and corruption. Your Excellency will do well to make the Sultan understand . . . that the only hope of maintaining the Ottoman Empire rests upon a complete and radical reform of the system of administration both in the capital and the provinces."

Five years have elapsed, and no reforms have been effected. The situation has become in all ways much worse. The Porte ridicules the admonitions and threats of England and the other Powers, and, nevertheless, all the Powers agree in supporting this abominable rule which is ruining the population of every race and of every faith. They are always ready to enter upon a crusade, not now against the Mussulmans, but for the Turks against the Christians.

Whoever studies the Eastern Question ought to read, or re-read, Saint Marc Girardin's articles, published in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* between 1860 and 1862. Here are some extracts :

"The European Turks produce nothing ; they are but parasites, living wholly on the pillage of Christians. Render this pillage impossible, or at least more difficult, and the Turks will emigrate and go elsewhere to die. Thus the Turkish power in Bulgaria and Roumelia would fall of its own accord, without war, as has virtually been the case in Servia and the Principalities."

"In America, thanks to men's labour, the desert lessens; in the East, thanks to Turkish rapacity and unconcern, the desert increases."

"Who then do you wish to be supreme in the East, Turks or Russians? Neither; but the people themselves. Who then will defend your new Turkey? Who is it that defends the dying one? Why should Europe find it more difficult to guard a cradle than a coffin?"

"It will be a happy day when Turkey's downfall shall be still more complete, and shall thus leave room for so many strong and active, but now oppressed, peoples, who, to the disgrace of civilization and mankind, have been crushed by the weight of the Turkish carcass, and when France can hold out her helping hand between Russian ambition and English susceptibility!"

Saint Marc Girardin has some noble words, and he would even accept the English occupation of Turkey. "As a Frenchman," he says, "I might regret it, but as a man and a Christian I should rejoice to see an absurd and brutal tyranny replaced by an orderly and tolerant administration. If I had the power to convert Macedonia or Bulgaria, Asia Minor or Syria into English countries, and to change so much evil into so much good, do you think, even if it brought glory to the conquerors of Trafalgar and Waterloo, I should hesitate for a moment? I should be unworthy of the name of Christian if I allowed any scruples of national vanity to hold me back from this blessed work" (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, October 15, 1862).

Guizot and Thiers were both supporters of the policy of emancipating the Christians in Turkey and forming them into national independent groups. Speaking about the Eastern Question, M. Guizot says in his memoirs, "French politicians are much engrossed with the varied interests in the East, and with the great and far-off future. We remain faithful to our general idea; we wish both to preserve the Ottoman Empire and to assist the new States which are trying to shape themselves amidst its remains." In a diplomatic note of October 3, 1840, M. Thiers said: "Unable to reconstitute a great whole, we have thought it desirable that the detached parts should remain States, independent of the neighbouring empires."

The time when the Turks will be obliged to return into Asia has long been foreseen. It is related by Tott, in his memoirs, that the campaign of the Turks against the Russians in 1788 having ended badly, the Keir Effendi

came to him and asked what these reverses would lead to if they continued. The interview took place in one of the rooms in the palace from whence Scutari, on the other side of the Bosphorus, could be seen. Tott, pointing to the coast of Asia, answered briefly, "There, opposite." "So be it," answered the Turk; "the valleys are charming; we can build kiosks and smoke our pipes as well as here." *This shows that what has been called expulsion with "bag and baggage,"* said to be patronized by Gladstone, does not date from yesterday.

There is another plan which would be more easily carried out and which would injure neither justice nor private interests; on the contrary, all Christians and Mussulmans, especially the latter, would find it a great advantage. It is the solution formerly so eloquently propounded and advocated by Saint Marc Girardin, and expounded in a book written some years ago by a far-sighted Greek, Dionis Rattos, now forgotten but well received in its time, *i.e.*, to make Constantinople a free town and open port, like Hamburg. The administration would be in the hands of a Senate where the different nationalities would be represented, and which would elect an executive council. Goods should be received in the docks, and within the limits of the town and suburbs, without customs or formalities of any kind. Add a good police, a righteous justice, few taxes, and simple and enlightened laws to which all must alike submit; briefly, liberty, equality, complete security for the person, possessions, and rights of every man. In a few years Constantinople would enjoy incredible prosperity; commerce, freed from all barriers and difficulties, would double or triple; the value of the houses and lands would increase proportionally; the Turkish landowners, now in poverty, would grow rapidly rich, whilst indulging to the full in their ideal of enjoyment here below, the *Kaif*.

In accordance with the dream of the two races who both claim it, Constantinople would be at the same time the capital of the Bulgarians and of the Hellenes; the Greeks would not lose it, nor the Slavs, without even expelling the Turks.

Are all these flattering prospects only a dream? I do not think so, and I can appeal to the opinion of Mr. Grant-Duff, now in India as Governor of the Province of Bombay, an ex-member of Parliament, and one of the English statesmen who know and understand the affairs of the Continent the best. He spoke to me fully about Eastern affairs when I spent some time with him in the country at Knebworth, the delightful castle which his friend Lord Lytton, then in India, had lent him. He was a warm partizan of the complete freedom of the Slavs in the Peninsula, and he was one who with Gladstone helped the most in leading English public opinion in this direction. He quoted from one of his speeches in the House of Commons on May 29, 1863, when he said, "Sir, I hope that Constantinople may never belong either to Russian Slavonians or Servian Slavonians; and the Servians, to do them justice, have no wish to have it. They are quite content that it should be—as it will, I hope, one day be—a free port, under the protection and guarantee of all Europe and of the whole civilized world."

Still, the Ottoman Power being destined to disappear from Europe, in virtue of fixed historical law, what will take its place? There are three answers to this question—the Peninsula, except Greece, would be divided between Austria and Russia; or one of these empires would occupy the whole; or the races who dwell there might agree to form a federation. The first plan recalls the unhappy division of Poland, for it would give Constantinople to Russia and would sacrifice Roumania, sooner or later, caught as in a vice between the two parts of the Russian Empire. The second plan seems more possible if it could be accomplished by Austria, which already holds Novi-Bazaar, an important strategic point in the centre of the Peninsula, whilst Germany and England would sooner see Constantinople in the hands of Austria than of Russia. However, such a change could only be brought about by a war of extermination between Austria and Russia, and by imposing upon the freed Jougo-Slavs of the Peninsula a



yoke which they would detest, and which no friends of peace or liberty could desire.

There remains, then, the third solution—the Balkan Confederation; it is the only one which is conformed to the right of the populations to govern themselves, and which avoids giving a dangerous preponderance to one of the two large neighbouring empires. What can be more simple or more equitable than to permit Servians, Bulgarians, Albanians, Greeks, and Turks to dispose of their own fate, and to govern according to their own ideas? All Europe should favour this arrangement, for it would restore the prosperity of ancient times to these countries so long desolated by war and bad governments; and it would prevent the abominable struggle that must be anticipated between the Great Powers when they come to dispute the “the Sick Man’s” succession, sword in hand.

This solution, so just and natural, has been for many years advocated by the English Liberals, particularly by Gladstone. It has long been favoured in Athens, and it is still supported by a Hellenic Committee, and by a special paper, *La Confédération Orientale*, edited with great talent. In Albania a literary and political association has been formed, called *Dritta* (“light”), with the aim of establishing an understanding between the Albanians of the three confessions—Orthodox, Catholic, and Mussulman—and thus preparing them to take their place in the future federation. In “*Lettere Sulla Questione Balcanica*,” a very instructive pamphlet by M. M. A. Canini, who thoroughly understands Albanian affairs, I see that the Albanians of the north, *Ghegi*, and the Albanians of the south, *Toschi*, would not accept the Greek supremacy at any price; but would be inclined to join a federation that would guarantee their autonomy. I met no one in Bulgaria who was not an advocate of federal union; and in Servia, before the late visions of ambition and conquest, it seemed also to be the wish of all. It was one of the points enforced by the *Oustarvost* (the Constitutional), and I will give an extract from M. Jovan Ristitch’s remarkable speech on this sub-

ject, at the banquet of the Liberal Association, Dec. 6, 1884: "In order that we may retain our newly acquired possessions, we must find friends abroad, and we must look for them principally in the Balkan Peninsula. The Balkan Confederation is not a chimera; it offers a system in which we Easterns may seek refuge, and without which our future will be very uncertain. The Balkan Peninsula forms a whole, not only geographically, but historically also, for the peoples who compose it have had for centuries the same experiences. There is now no alternative; it must be combined into a whole, either by foreign hands or by its own. The Byzantine Empire formerly secured this unity. Upon its ruins the empire of Dushan was about to unite all the Eastern nationalities, and, according to history, this union would have been accomplished if this great emperor, statesman and general, had not been cut off by a premature death. There was no one who could carry on his work in the Balkan Peninsula, which was taken possession of by the Ottoman victors. But now such a united State has become impossible, whether it be called Byzantine, Servian, or Ottoman. Thanks to the re-awakening of the sentiment of nationalities, the unity of the Balkan Peninsula is now only possible as a union and federation of the races of the Balkan, even admitting Turkey, but constitutional Turkey." In an important speech (Hungarian Parliament, October 18, 1886), the Premier Tisza said that the independent and autonomous States of the Balkan Peninsula ought to form a confederation.

This Balkan Confederation should be upon the Swiss model, that is, the races which are but few in numbers must be allowed to take their own place like the others, and not forced into one vast unity. The cantons of Appenzell, Unterwalden, and Bâle, never very large, have on this account been divided into half-cantons, each having its independent life and representatives at the Federal Council. Instead of a large Albania, where the three confessions would always be at strife, could there not be three cantons formed—one for the Catholic Albanians, one for the Ortho-

dox Albanians, and one for the Albanian Mussulmans? Also Macedonia must not be annexed either to Bulgaria, Greece, or Servia. Each town and department should have its own autonomy, so that no liberties or personal rights should be sacrificed, and Macedonia would have representatives at the two federal councils, on the same footing as those of the States already freed.

Only, before such a confederation can be formed, the absurd and detestable theory of the balance of power lately invented by Servia as a pretext for the most unjustifiable aggressions must be crushed in the bud. It is an absurd theory, for there is nothing in history or in actual facts to justify it. Do we not see in Europe that small States, such as Holland, Denmark, Belgium, Switzerland, exist by the side of the Great Powers? Is not the confederation of the United States made up of giant States, California, Texas, Ohio, New York, and of very small ones, Rhode Island and Maine? In Switzerland, do not the 160,000 Italians of the Tessin live in happiness and freedom by the side of 2,600,000 French and Germans? If the Bulgarians wish to unite, Servia has no right to oppose the union, for she only exists herself by virtue of the right of the people to settle their own fate.

This theory is odious because its first consequence would be to arouse permanent antagonism and hostility between the young States of the Peninsula, which would be ruined by the excessive armaments which they would be obliged to maintain, and its ultimate result would be to lead them into internecine conflict whenever any one State gained any advantage. Suppose that Greece joined either Crete or Hellenic Thessaly, still *irredenta*; would Servia and Bulgaria be entitled to oppose it because the balance would be turned against them?

"It is to make confederation possible," wrote a Servian of high rank to me, "that we oppose the union of Bulgaria and Roumelia; because there must be a certain equality amongst the States of a federation; one ought not to be stronger than the rest." It is a strange preparation

for federation, for those who are to be allied to fight about it first! And how contrary to all reason and all idea of justice is such an argument! Thus, because there are more Bulgarians than Servians in the Peninsula, the Bulgarians will not be allowed to unite, without being attacked directly by the Servians!

What should we say if Inner Rhoden, Appenzell, which has 12,844 inhabitants; the half-canton of Nidwalden, which has 11,992; Oberwalden, which has 15,356; and Zug, with 22,994—should go and say to Canton Berne: "You have 532,164 inhabitants; you are therefore stronger than we, which is contrary to the essential nature of a federal State; we are about to join with the cantons, small like ourselves, to cut you in bits, which you will be eternally forbidden to reunite"?

The Servian intellect has been poisoned by the old and mistaken Western ideas of balance of power, international rivalries, and conquests. They ought to rejoice in everything that favours Bulgaria's development and increase in strength and prosperity, because both are, first men, then Christians, and lastly because they belong to the same race. It is clear that it would be a great advantage to Servia to have for neighbour and ally a Bulgaria, rich, prosperous, populated, civilized; for she would first profit by the exchange of merchandise, and then, the more powerful her confederate, the greater her own safety.

The feelings which led the Servians into a war rightly called by the representatives of the Great Powers at Belgrade, fratricidal, are incomprehensible. The southern part of Servia has few inhabitants; there are large tracts of fertile land which only wait for labour and money to produce abundant harvests; instead of using her strength in colonizing this tract, Servia has sacrificed money and able men to conquer a country already freed from the Ottoman yoke, and inhabited by men of Slav race. She is ruining herself to destroy others, without any benefit to any one.

If Servia, instead of siding with the Turks—a mon-

strosity—and madly and wickedly attacking her brothers, had joined Bulgaria and Greece in delivering Macedonia, she would now have been in possession of Old Servia, the Greek frontier could have been extended to its ethnic limits, and the rest of the province would have formed a dependency of Bulgaria.

It will probably not be easy to efface completely the remembrance of this unhappy war. It may be feared that it has aroused individual rancour and revenge which will be a great obstacle in the way of a future understanding. It is the duty of patriots, and well-meaning men of both nations, to endeavour to efface these germs of discord and hatred. One of the best means of doing this would be to found a Serbo-Bulgarian Association, which should meet every year in each country alternately. It should be composed of three sections—literary, archæological and historical, and economic. The first would consider the literary productions of both countries and the means of encouraging national literature; the second, everything relating to the history of the Jougo-Slavs—manuscripts, excavations, numismatics, old documents; the third would seek to unite the two peoples on the ground of their common material interests. Such relations and annual meetings would arouse fraternal feelings. The first question to study would be that of a customs union between Servia and Bulgaria, freed from dues. The *Zollverein* prepared the way for the federal union of the German States.

The Flemish and Dutch literary men also met every year at a Congress, in Belgium or Holland, and these meetings contributed greatly to erase the memories of the struggle of 1830 and to revive the sentiment of community of origin and race.

When the races of the Balkan Peninsula have understood that it is not to their interest to envy, fight, and destroy one another, the idea of the Oriental Confederation will impress itself on every one. Then, let the favourable time come, and this ideal, now so distant, will realize itself quite naturally, but only on condition that it meets with prepared minds.

If, on the contrary, Servians, Bulgarians, Greeks, Mussulmans, and Albanians, blinded by old prejudices, continue to quarrel and even to fight one another on the slightest pretext, their destiny will be that of Poland ; they will be divided between their powerful neighbours or swallowed whole by the strongest. *Quod Dei avertant !*

## CHAPTER XII.

### ROUMANIA.

LEAVING Constantinople I took the Austrian boat, which started at one in the afternoon and reached Varna at half-past two in the morning. Where the Bosphorus opens into the Black Sea the coasts of Europe and Asia appear equally sad and desolate. I saw nothing but forts and a few fishermen's huts. Cannons and poverty; admirable situations abandoned or laid waste by men; that is the picture of Turkey.

Crossing the Danube I admire the immense, majestic expanse of water, wider than the Bosphorus. Seafaring vessels ascend it with all sails set. Rustchuk was seen to the left on some reddish hills overlooking the river. A small steamer took us to Giurgevo, where the Eastern Express was waiting. Giurgevo consists of low houses of one story, like the Hungarian villages, but they are clean and in good repair, and I see no ruins. It is easy to perceive that we are no longer under Turkish rule. How different from Stamboul!

The Roumanian farms that I went through before Bucharest are better cultivated than those between Varna and the Danube; there was less waste ground, the maize land was better tilled, the corn was freer from weeds. The men working in the fields were dressed in white woollen clothes, with a sheepskin *kalpac* on their head, and the women wore a long tunic with a bright-coloured apron.

Here and there were clumps of fine trees, such as are never seen in Turkey, where the sole idea is to turn everything into money. My first impression of Bucharest was prepossessing. Except in the central streets, like Calea Mogochoi, called since the taking of Plevna the street of Victory, the houses have only one story and are detached : a large door gives access to a garden which contains the dependencies and the kitchen, often connected by a passage with the house.

The view from the top of a tower shows the roofs lost in foliage, recalling Moscow seen from the Kremlin ; but in the centre, where land is dear, they are now building lofty houses as in Paris. The Grand Hotel is good, clean, even elegant, but everything is excessively dear ; the more extraordinary as food is fabulously cheap : a leg of mutton costs 1s. 8d., a fowl 10d., a turkey 1s. 8d. ; there is a good supply of fish from the Danube at a very low price ; *sterleton* is excellent. The wines of the country are pleasant, and are sold at 2d. or 3d. a litre. I was astonished that some Swiss had not yet established the hotel-pensions, where comfort may be obtained at moderate prices, as in Italy and Spain.

My first visit was to the English Minister, Sir William White, for whom I had an introduction from the Foreign Office, signed by Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice. Sir William is exceedingly witty, a most amusing talker, and devoted to Liberal ideas ; no one knows Roumania so thoroughly as he. He wished to take me at once to see the President of the Council, M. Bratiano, but the Prime Minister's son told us that his father had had a serious fall and the doctors ordered rest. We went to tea with M. Demeter Stourdza, Minister of Foreign Affairs ; he is one of the most eminent men of this country. I found at Madame Stourdza's a *salon*, a true *salon*, that reminded me of Madame Minghetti's in Rome ; she has the art of talking and, rarer still, of making others talk ; she leads the conversation to interesting subjects, much above the usual trivialities, without the least touch of the blue-stockings or the pedant.

She talked much of Queen Elizabeth whom she adores.



Unfortunately I cannot see her, for she is with her family at Neuwied. Madame Stourdza gave me Carmen Sylva's books, "Les Pensées d'une Reine," containing profound, courageous, well-expressed maxims; the "Legendes des Karpathes," *Pelesch-Märchen* and *Carmen Sylva's Königreich*; \* and a poem on the Wandering Jew in German, strangely and startlingly poetical, and piercing the problem of human life to its depths.

Carmen Sylva—the Queen's *nom de plume*—delights to live in the wild valleys of the Carpathians, "where the primitive forest crowns the riven rocks, over which the rushing torrents fall"—

" *Wo Urwald hohe felsen krönt,  
Der Bergshom wild zu Thale droht  
Und tausend Blumen blühen,  
Viele süsse Düfte sprühen,  
Da liegt, den schönsten Garten gleich,  
Mein Königreich.*"

That is Carmen Sylva's kingdom. Madame Stourdza told me that the Queen is a woman above the ordinary level of humanity, detached from material interests, living in the ideal, loving nature, poetry, music, painting, all the arts, wholly devoted to noble causes, to Roumania and the Roumains, particularly to the poor and suffering. She tries to preserve domestic industries; when, in the summer, she is at her romantic castle of Pelesch, near Sinaia, at the foot of the Carpathians, she and her maids of honour wear the costume of Roumanian women, which have the straight folds of the ancient drapery, and which are ornamented with beautiful embroidery. A society has been founded, under her patronage, to acquaint people with the local industry, and there is a shop in Mogochoi where these charming productions may be bought. I spent almost every evening at Madame Stourdza's, and they are amongst the pleasantest reminiscences of my journey.

M. Stourdza spoke with great satisfaction of the financial

\* "Pilgrim Sorrow." By CARMEN SYLVA. Translated by HELEN ZIMMERN. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1884.

condition of Roumania, which, like Italy, has attained a balance of expenditure, and they have even put by 60 million francs. All the Government services are well worked, and the State regularly pays everything that it owes. Great progress has been made in the last ten years.

In the Grand Hotel I met General Brialmont, a fellow-member of the Academy of Brussels. The King had sent for him, and saw him every day to discuss and prepare a plan for building forts round Bucharest. Since the death of Todtleben, he is certainly the greatest designer of fortifications in Europe. He spoke of his plans with enthusiasm. Bucharest, he says, will be even better defended than Antwerp, thanks to a series of detached forts, with moveable iron-clad batteries, like those of turret ships. The chief point is how to protect the guns and men more completely. The effects of the present explosive bullets are so terrible that unprotected cannon would be soon knocked to pieces. Bucharest will be made an impregnable intrenched camp, where the Roumanian army can hold in check forces ten times greater than their own, and even close the road to a Russian army.

Roumania, like Belgium, is open for the passage of belligerents, and she cannot defend her neutrality against the stronger of the two. She is compelled to let the army pass through, and even to consent to an alliance. Under such conditions, the independence of the country does not exist. It is important to command the Danube here, as it is necessary in Belgium to bar the valley of the Meuse. It is said that neighbouring States have taken offence at these projects, I do not believe it; enable the small States easily to defend themselves, and it is a guarantee of peace; the great ones will be less likely to attempt an attack!

I was brought round to the General's opinion; Roumania is weak, and a prey to be coveted by Russia and Austria alternately. But, when able to repel aggression, she would prevent her ambitious neighbours from regarding her as an easy prey, and would also be a barrier hindering their attempts upon each other.

In 1859, the reunion of Wallachia and Roumania was opposed in England by Palmerston and Disraeli ; it was defended, then as now, by Gladstone and also by Lord Robert Cecil, now Lord Salisbury. In his first speech on the Eastern Question, he said : " If Europe supports the claims of Turkey, the Principalities will be left to the mercy of the Turkish Government, the most oppressive and rapacious of Governments. Whilst Turkey is still standing they will be under this rule, and when she falls, as fall she must, they will be a spoil, which the other Powers will divide amongst them ; I hope that the House of Commons will, under these circumstances, show itself the friend of liberty. . . . An opportune moment, which may never return, now presents itself, of supporting the principles we revere, of establishing the institutions to which we owe our happiness, and of ensuring the liberty and well-being of a large number of our fellow creatures."

Disraeli reproached Lord Robert Cecil with trying to create a " fantastic kingdom " and " a phantom of independence." We can see now how much Disraeli was mistaken, and how right were Lord R. Cecil's views. His words are now exactly applicable to the reunion of Bulgaria and Roumelia. Had he recollected them at Berlin, he would not have helped to annul the Treaty of San Stéfano. A State able to live, capable of self-defence, a second Roumania, should have been constituted beyond the Danube, and present and future complications would have been avoided. Fortunately, at the present time, Lord Salisbury seems no longer to forget the words of Lord Robert Cecil in 1859.

King Leopold had kindly given me a letter of introduction to King Charles, who received me in his Villa Cotroceni, a little way out of Bucharest, it was formerly a convent, with the church still remaining, as was the former royal residence of Pelesch at Sinaia. The King received me most graciously ; he spoke with enthusiasm of his " good brother " Leopold, who had showed himself to be worthy of his illustrious father. King Charles was in uniform ; he had the upright

bearing of a Prussian officer, slender, decided in his movements, and young looking. He was in all respects a fine man. When I told him how much I admired the beautiful trees in the Cotroceni Park, he answered, "Indeed, I adore fine trees; I plant them, and get them planted, whenever I can; they are the great want in our very fertile plains. I would not have them cut down at Pelesch even to open the view; they are the great beauty of the Carpathians. I have just returned from an excursion in almost unknown parts of the chain, where I encamped amidst true virgin forests. If you had been here a few days sooner I would have carried you off. It was splendid; we saw, lying on the ground, enormous trunks, reaching up to one's shoulder; we were transported to the heart of primitive nature, to the *Urwald*, as the German so truly says."

He spoke of the Semitic question, which is always under discussion in Roumania. "The West," he said, "and you authors are very unjust to us in this respect. Need I to tell you that I am not prejudiced against the Jews? I have just returned from the fêtes at Jassy, where the population is three-quarters Jewish, and I have nowhere received a warmer welcome. I am the first to recognize their commercial aptitudes, of which I have had a recent proof. In our last great manœuvres it was proposed to entrust the supply of food to Christians. The first day the provisions came; the second day everything was late; on the third, the whole army was dying of hunger. I was forced to make a hasty appeal to the Jews. In the last campaign of the Russians beyond the Danube, the Jewish providers saved them from many sufferings; they had always everything they wanted, from a bottle of champagne for the officer to cheap tobacco for the soldier's pipe. The Israelites have great qualities; they are intelligent, energetic, economical, but these very qualities make them dangerous for us on economic grounds. Rightly or wrongly, the fear here is that by degrees they will get the whole land into their hands."

King Charles has thoroughly understood and carried out the part of a constitutional monarch; he and his people are very happy together. The parliamentary *régime* has given rise, here as elsewhere, to painful crises and difficult situations; but if the sovereign keeps himself in the elevated sphere which ought to be his, far above these miseries and intrigues, occupying himself with the permanent interests of the country and favouring all improvements, he will keep his popularity intact, and the nation will be obliged to take the blame of its own mistakes. Louis Philippe never understood this, and he lost his crown. The King of Denmark does not understand it now, and he is at open war with his people, who are the best in the world. If Prince Alexander would imitate his Roumanian neighbour, he would no longer have to complain of the Bulgarians.

M. Nicolas Xenopol, one of the editors of the Liberal Progressist paper, *Le Romanul*, most graciously offered himself as my guide during my stay here. He presented me to Rossetti, who as President of the Chamber exerted large and well-merited influence. This illustrious patriot, whose dramatic escape in 1848 has been so well told by Michelet in his "Legendes du Nord," was very vigorous; his hair was of silvery whiteness, but his keen and almost hard black eye, revealed a strong will and sincere mind. He died last year. "Roumania," he said, "has made wonderful progress in the use of free institutions. The country governs itself; we enjoy, without restriction, the most perfect liberty, and, as you see, our political life flows peacefully on, as in Belgium, with no other storms than those raised in the House by the different parties, but that does not disturb the country."

The Roumanian Parliament, imitating the wisdom of the Hungarians, who have retained M. Tizsa as Prime Minister for a long time, has kept M. Bratiano in office, to the great advantage of regular progress and good administration.

The Roumanian Constitution guarantees perfect liberty to its citizens in the most absolute manner. It is an almost exact fac-simile of the Belgian Constitution.

"Equality before the law, Art. 10.—No distinction of class or privilege, Art. 11.—Personal liberty guaranteed, Art. 14.—The home inviolable, Art. 15.—Neither confiscation of goods nor penalty of death, except under the military penal code, Art. 16, 17.—Liberty of conscience and worship, Art. 21.—The civil authority the sole source of the civil acts of the State, Art. 22.—Free education, primary education gratuitous and compulsory, Art. 23.—Complete liberty of speech and press. No preliminary censure nor permission. No preventive measure. Misdemeanours of the press to be tried before a jury, Art. 24.—The secrecy of letters guaranteed, Art. 25.—The right of holding peaceable and unarmed meetings, Art. 26.—Right of association, Art. 26.—Right of petition, Art. 27.—Government officials liable to the lawsuits of the injured parties, without preliminary authorization, Art. 29.—All power emanates from the Nation, Art. 31.—The legislative power exercised by two elected Chambers, and by the king, Art. 32.—All taxes and the civil list to be voted beforehand, Art. 108–115.—A *Cour des Comptes* as in France, Art. 116.—Chambers to meet lawfully, Nov. 15th, and not to be adjourned more than once in a session, Art. 95.—Any revision of the Constitution to be voted by both Chambers, and carried out by a Congress of the two re-elected assemblies, and no change to be adopted which does not carry two-thirds of the votes, Art. 128.—The senators and deputies elected by three groups, into which the electors are divided in proportion to their fortune. Every Roumain is an elector who pays a tax, however small, and also every man who has received a given standard of education."

I know of no more liberal Constitution. The division into groups seems arbitrary, but it is perhaps justified by the still restricted diffusion of instruction and political capacity. It is to be regretted that fixity of office for the judges has not been adopted; it is indispensable to equitable justice, withdrawn from all illegal influences.

I breakfasted with M. Aurelian, the Minister of Education and Director of the Agricultural School established at

the gates of the capital, to the left of the *Chaussée*. He is the author of a very good notice on Roumania, sent to the Paris Exhibition of 1867, and of several other writings. He has a thorough knowledge of the rural economy of his country. The school is a fine building, with good classrooms, laboratories, and stabling. They make experiments on the best succession of crops. The Norfolk system and a septennial rotation are the most in favour. Fodder plants, beet-root, and Swedish turnips, trefoil, lucerne, sainfoin flourish wonderfully well. The best means of enriching Roumania, seems to me to be, instead of growing wheat, which American and Indian competition brings down to a low price, to enormously increase the growth of fodder of all kinds, and to double the number of animals and improve the breed. In the nursery grounds the ailanthus, the lime-trees, the acacias, and even the conifers have shot up enormously; trees must be planted everywhere to beautify the country, to attract the rain in summer, and to give shelter from the cold winds in winter. For lack of wood, the peasants burn straw or dung! This is deplorable, and reminds one of the East. Enough attention is not given in the school to the improvement of the bovine race, which should be the chief source of riches here.

The emancipation of the peasants in 1864 put them in a worse position, as in Russia. In former times the rural class included peasant proprietors, called *mochenéni* in Wallachia, *résèchi* in Moldavia, living and working in family communities, and the peasants under enforced labour, who cultivated the lands belonging to the State, the Church, or private owners, giving a certain number of days' work—*clavachi*—to their territorial lord, and tithe of the raw produce. The lord granted them a plot of ground proportionate to the number of animals that they owned. They had also rights of pasturage in the forest, formerly communal property, but which had passed by degrees into the hands of the lord. The law of emancipation conceded to them a third of the land, in lots of from three to six hec-

tares, free from all payments, except an indemnity of about £4 10s. per hectare, paid to the proprietor by the State, and repayable by the peasant in fifteen annuities. More than four hundred thousand families became landowners in this way,\* but the size of their farms, which formerly increased in proportion to their resources, is now strictly limited, and with their extensive system of cultivation it is insufficient. They are therefore obliged to work on the *latifundia* of the large proprietors for a part of their too small produce, so they are very poor.

According to Mr. James Samuelson's "Roumania" (1882), a third of the peasants have repaid the whole, the rest still bear the weight of the debt contracted in 1864. They are also obliged to buy wood and pay for the pasturage, as the Russian serfs were formerly, which is a great hardship. Immense domains are still owned by the State, and propositions for dividing them amongst the peasants are often made; but it would be necessary, as in Bosnia, Servia, and several American States, to introduce the "Homestead Law" which protects, against distraint, the house and grounds of each farm labourer's family. It would be well to read on this subject M. Rudolf Meyer's instructive book, "Heimstätten." This Homestead Law would limit the "Semitic monopoly" of the land which is so much dreaded in Roumania. The plots of the peasants have been declared inalienable, but only for thirty years.

M. Aurelian thinks that if the peasants thoroughly cultivated their own grounds, they would not need to hire themselves as labourers for insufficient pay. He also thinks that by association, which they very well understand, they would be able to buy, in common, agricultural machinery, manure, and even the lands of ruined proprietors when for sale. Already we see that the inhabi-

\* In the first redistribution each lot comprised about 3 hectares (70 acres) for 279,684 families in Wallachia, and 5 hectares for 127,214 families in Moldavia, i.e., a total of 406,898 families who are estimated to have had the eighth of the land divided amongst them.



tants of certain communes have joined together to rent a large farm or to take on the *metayage* system. They divide it between them, and each pays a share of the rent in proportion to how much he cultivates and the number of animals he keeps. It is something like the Scotch "township." We find also an association for pasturing the flocks, as in Switzerland and the Jura : those who own the cows send them to the common pasture, choose the herdsmen who attend to the milk and butter, and divide the produce amongst the associates in proportion to the number of their animals and their average yield.

In a very thorough comparative study on the emphyteutic tenure M. G. Tocilescu speaks of the agrarian communities of *résèchis*, which descend, in his opinion, from the veterans to whom the princes, after the example of the Roman emperors, conceded rewards for military prowess. The *résèchis* have kept the collective ownership of the soil till our own days. The community constitutes a civil person owning the lands. This is also recognized by the law. Article 8 of the Code of Procedure is thus expressed, "The generality of the *mosnéis* (*cetele de mosneni* or *obstea reseclor*) shall be brought to the courts of justice by one collective citation." \*

"In 1875," said M. Tocilescu, "when I was engaged in the duties of barrister on behalf of the Roumanian State, I had occasion to look through some very old and curious documents belonging to most of the *résèchis* of Ivanesti, in the department of Racova, which were engaged in a lawsuit with the State. It is so difficult to divide a hereditary succession amongst the *résèchis* that it has passed into a proverb ; indeed, it is necessary to trace the genealogical tree of each of the families who compose the *résèchie* through several centuries back to the ancestor (*batranul, mosuil*) who received the original grant of the land.

\* There is further information on this subject in the circulars of the Minister of Justice for Wallachia in 1849, Nos. 2,579 and 2,581 in M. Brailoin's collection of laws, "Legiurea Caragea," &c., second edition, Bucharest, 1865, p. 442 and on.

*Résèchis* are very numerous in the Va-Sloni districts. Stephen the Great made many grants of land here after the memorable victory over the Turks in the valley of Racova. The victors of Grivitzza at the siege of Plevna in 1877 were from the district of Va-Sloni.

There is no country in Europe so well fitted as Roumania for rich agriculture. It is like Lombardy, but of double size. To the north instead of the Alps rises the high chain of the Carpathians, whence flow, through numberless valleys, many streams, following the slope of the ground southwards towards the Danube, which here replaces the Po. At the foot of the Carpathians commences the region of hills, stretching from east to west; they descend with a gentle slope till they lose themselves in the great Danubian plain. This plain is made of yellow clay, which is very fertile, and, near the river, of a belt of the famous black soil that constitutes the wealth of Southern Russia. The district within the bend made by the Danube before entering the Black Sea recalls the plains of Lower Venetia, but instead of the admirable crops between Padua and the lagoons we find here a great steppe, the Baragan.

The only drawback to this admirable amphitheatre is that it opens towards the east, that is, towards the Russian steppes, whence the cutting north-east wind, which blows for a hundred and fifty-five days of the year, brings drought and cold, without any forests to arrest its disastrous effects.

The surface alluvium of the low country seems to indicate that it has been deposited in the bed of a sea. The tertiary strata predominate on the side of the Carpathians; the summits are of secondary rocks, chiefly calcareous, which yield beautiful marble and good building stone. In the plain there is no gravel to make roads, nor even a pebble as large as one's fist. As wood is very scarce building materials are not to be found; they might make bricks, but there is no fuel to bake them, so there is nothing for building the houses but wattling coated with clay.

Would it be impossible for Roumania to acquire the

agricultural wealth which has made Lombardy the garden of Europe? Certainly not, but it would be well to imitate what the inhabitants of the valley of the Po have done since Roman times, and apply here the proceedings sung by Virgil, and which Tacitus reproved the Germans for neglecting. Arthur Young, in his notes of his Italian journey, tells us that when he saw at La Scala one evening a crowd of beautiful women with elegant toilettes and resplendent jewels, he thought of the farms he had visited in the morning, and said to himself, "It is, however, from the milk and cheese of their cows that all this display of wealth and luxury springs."

In Lombardy all the rivers which rise in the Alps and the lakes are dammed, shut up in canals, then distributed all over the country, so that it may be irrigated at will, and thus creating wonderful fertility and enormous wealth. In Roumania the watercourses do much harm, and no good; they are an obstacle to the use of the roads, they wash down their banks, carrying away the alluvial soil, and, as they approach the Danube, forming marshes which produce fever. The first thing to do would be to study the existing hydrographic *régime* and the means of distribution, as in Lombardy. This supposes that the cultivators are willing to grow crops that require watering. But how beneficial would water and trees be in a country where for four months of the year no rain falls except during some rare storms, and where everything is burnt up by the pitiless sun!

In Roumania—without including the Dobrudja—out of 12,000,000 hectares 5,708,945 are under cultivation or are used as pastures, and 2,000,000 are forest; the remainder is unproductive, but that is the fault not of nature, but of man.

According to a well-written work by M. Aurelian, "Terra Nostra," Bucharest, 1880, completed by the recent data of M. Paul Dehn, "Deutschland im Orient," the crops are estimated as follows: Wheat, 559,560 hectares, producing 895,287 tons, of an average value of 221,900 francs, of

which 400,000 tons are exported; rye, 110,775 hectares, producing 110,162 tons, worth £320,000, of which 78,111 tons are exported; barley and oats, 356,894 hectares, producing 694,823 tons, worth £1,880,000, of which 413,665 tons are exported. Maize, the principal food of the people, either stewed as porridge into *mamaliga*, the Italian *polenta*, or baked into a cake and fried in small pieces, takes as much room as all the other cereals together, 1,034,755 hectares yielding 1,885,025 tons, worth £6,000,000, of which 636,831 tons are exported.

Domestic animals are relatively numerous. There are 2,557,381 horned heads, of which 111,943 are buffaloes, 1,053,403 pigs, and 4,758,366 sheep and goats. Pigs and sheep only are exported to the number of 275,062, worth about £400,000, to which may be added an average of £240,000, for wool.

The vine flourishes well in the hilly region at the foot of the Carpathians. There are about 100,000 hectares of vineyards, yielding from 500,000 to 1,000,000 hectolitres. The wines of Delu Mare and of Dragaschani in Wallachia, and that of Odobesci and Cotnar in Moldavia are both good and cheap. I drank excellent Dragaschani at the Grand Hotel at Bucharest. Viticulture, and especially the method of making the wine, need much improvement. All kinds of fruit trees, apricots, peaches, with hard fruit, and particularly cherries, flourish wonderfully well; and if the peasants would take the trouble to plant them round their cottages they would gain an increase of income from them, besides the pleasure of a wholesome and agreeable dessert. But they would have to bestow work which would not be productive for some years, and it is too much to expect a spirit of foresight here; they do as their grandfathers did, and no more. Still, in the hilly region and throughout Moldavia there are many plum trees with violet fruit, used to make a kind of brandy called *tzonica*, which the peasants sometimes drink too freely.

King Routine also hinders agricultural improvement; the method of tenure is so detestable that it would have

ruined even the Far West of America. The landowners in Wallachia, with the exception of some rich proprietors or Greek financiers, never farm their own land ; they let it to large contractors or middlemen, like the *mercanti di campagna* of the *Agro Romano*, who sublet it to the cultivators. These contractors have no capital, except perhaps sometimes some carts or steam threshing machines, which they lend to the cultivators at a stated price. The peasant tills, besides his own portion of land received at the emancipation, the rest of the proprietor's property, retaining for himself half the produce. It is therefore a *metayage*, but no one invests any capital ; the tenant labours, sows, reaps, thrashes the corn and takes it to a port on the Danube or the nearest railway station. The proprietor gives up his half to the contractor for a fixed sum, reckoned according to the average revenue of the land ; only as the Roumanian proprietor has almost always need of cash in hand for his expenses at Bucharest, travelling or gambling, he agrees to take less in order to obtain ready money. Thus the contractor fleeces both the parties whom he deals with, to say nothing of the poor land, which is robbed pitilessly by every one.

The mode of culture is that described by Liebig as *Raub-Kultur*, ruffian-culture, constantly taking but never restoring. The ground is turned over by a great wooden plough which has not changed since Trajan's time ; it tears the surface, without making regular furrows ; the wheat or maize, sown amidst the mounds growing amongst weeds of all kinds, is small and poor. So it is sold at a lower price than American wheat, and does not always even find purchasers. The only weeding of the soil which clears the ground a little is that given after the earliest leaves of the maize have shot up. The ground is never manured, and the straw is burned on the spot, or feeds the fire of the steam threshing machine. Near Bucharest there are large quantities of horse manure ; when this is dry it is used for fuel ; high treason against nature and humanity. If it has ever been true that wheat required no manure, it is no

longer so. If it were well spread over the land, plants used in manufactures such as tobacco, hemp, chicory, and hops, &c., would soon double or treble the revenue of land.

When the harvest is gathered the land is left for pasture, until spontaneous vegetation replaces manure. However rich the land may be it is finally exhausted, especially if, by the increase of population, the crops are grown at shorter intervals, to supply the larger demands either of home or foreign consumption. The cultivator needs no litter for his animals, and has no manure, because they wander about in the open air both summer and winter; they have no stables, it is seldom that they have even a slight shelter. Yet the climate is very severe, and as extreme as in Southern Russia; the thermometer rises to 30° or 40° (Centigrade) above zero in summer and falls 25° to 30° in winter. Nothing can be more pitiable than to see, in January and February, the horses and cows crowding together, and turning their backs to the driving snow which scourges and half buries them; sometimes they die from hunger and extreme cold. Very little fodder is preserved, the carefully constructed hay-stacks of our Western countries, promising good food for the cattle, are nowhere visible; their only food is the straw of the maize, which they scratch from under the snow, or get from a bundle placed within their reach. Under these conditions the products—I do not say of the stable, for there is none, but of the domestic animals—are almost nothing. There is no question of butter, the cows are always thin; at the end of the winter they are mere skeletons.

The ox is valued rather as a beast of burden than for its flesh; it is imported from Russia, from whence they not unfrequently bring also the cattle plague. The pig is a kind of little wild boar, very good to eat, but of light weight. The sheep of the Carpathians and of the Baragan make very good mutton. The Tsigay breed is so good that the Sultans of old ate no other kind. Only what profit can there be when an entire leg is sold in Bucharest for 1s. 3d.

to 1s. 8d. ? The horses are small, slight, strong to resist fatigue and changes of climate, not requiring much care, but, for want of shape and size, they are of very little value. A few are exported into Transylvania ; but, on the other hand, better ones are imported from Russia, and amongst them the fine animals that may be seen harnessed to the hired carriages at Bucharest. Formerly, according to Demetrius Cantemer, a Turkish proverb said, "A Moldavian horse is the best of all."

The Spanish system of *mesta*, that is, of the periodical emigration of folds, is still practised in Roumania, as in some parts of Southern Italy. In the summer the shepherds lead their flocks into the Carpathians to feed on the succulent grass of the mountains, and they bring them back to the plain for the winter. The Tzintzars of Macedonia come here to buy thin cattle ; they fatten them on the rich pastures of the inundated meadows by the Danube, then they slaughter them to dry the meat, which is, as pastrama, accompanied with the dry fish of the Danube, and boiled maize flour (*mamaliga*), their favourite dish.

The mulberry-tree can bear the winters, and so the cultivation of the silk-worm is possible ; they have been here from time immemorial, and have produced the silk which made the dresses of the wives of the boyars. For a time Roumania even exported some eggs of the precious silk-worm to the West, but this trade was killed by adulteration and the competition of Japan which led to a fall of prices.

With wheat at eighteen or twenty francs the hundred kilogrammes, what income can be returned by land so badly cultivated ? The difference between the price where it is grown and where it is sold is too great, not only on account of the high freight, twenty to thirty francs per ton from Braila to London or Havre, whilst from New York it is only ten or even five francs to the same ports, but on account of the perquisites of subordinates, contractors, merchants, speculators. Unless Roumania can improve the quality of her wheat, American competition will banish it from the ports of the West.

However, in visiting some large home farms under their owners' supervision, like that of Maratchesti, which belongs to M. Negroponte, we see what success can be achieved in this country, blessed of heaven, as to its animal and vegetable productions, splendid corn, English sheep, as happy and fat as if they were at home, pretty Hungarian horses, fruits of all kinds. Ah! if only the proprietors wished it, this country would become a paradise; but there is a terrible obstacle—absenteeism, a worse scourge than even the Turks.

It is unfortunately too easily explained, for it must be confessed that the country has been rendered uninhabitable to a cultured man.

Nothing can be more melancholy than this vast expanse of cornfield in Lower Roumania—no verdure, no meadow, no trees. In the summer the steppe, intersected with dusty roads, is quite yellow from the powdery clouds raised by the traveller's carriage on the slightest breeze; in winter, it is an immense deserted snow-field. The villages give the economist, philanthropist, and artist the heartache: the one sees that nothing is managed for the production of wealth; no capital is accumulated; there are no farm buildings; a few agricultural implements, but of the worst kind; very few stores, and not even firewood. The philanthropist sees that these dwellings offer a picture of complete destitution, the consequence of hereditary enslavement and excessive pressure by the strong upon the weak; the hut is of mud coated with clay; sometimes it is half hidden in the ground, and then it is at least warm in winter and cool in summer. After the square part which is to serve as a lodging has been hollowed out, like a kind of cave, a great fire is made of straw, the clay bakes almost into brick, and forms a hard and dry coating; the hole is roofed in with a slight timber framework, covered with thatch and reeds. There is hardly any furniture, only a few stools, but always a large chest to hold the dresses for festivals; generally there is no chimney, and the smoke escapes as it can through the chinks in the roof; this is considered healthy, and it



really has antiseptic properties, for it drives the flies away from the bacon and the mosquitoes from their usual victims, which is most valuable. To sum up, there is neither ease nor comfort. The hut of the negro in Central Africa is better made for satisfying the needs of life. This is the fate of the descendants of Trajan's *colons*, who speak the language of the kingly nation, and who for seventeen hundred years have constantly cultivated this land, the most fertile in the world !

The artist suffers also because the appearance of these villages and farms is of depressing uniformity. Except in the parts sown with maize, the whole soil is yellow and the houses of mud and clay have the same dull and dismal tint. Sometimes, failing trees to shade the front of the houses from the great heat of the sun, their branches with their leaves dead and withered are raised before them on posts. Nowhere is a gay or bright colour to be seen ; I recollect nowhere except on the Castilian plains such a desolate landscape. How is it likely that the landlord will live on his estate when he finds there neither shade, nor water, nor pleasant view, nor society, nor occupation of any kind, because the land is so badly farmed by the peasants, and with no variety of crops ? Nothing there but a desert, a burning sun, and clouds of dust. Like the noblemen of Southern Italy and Sicily, they fly to the towns, the bathing places, or the gambling tables. The Roumain, like his ancestor the Roman, and most of the Greco-Latin nations, prefers city life.

Everything has yet to be done here, and first, the aspect of the country should be transformed by plantations ; meadows and lawns artificially watered ; parks should be made, plain, rustic, but comfortable, houses built ; and this should be done everywhere at once, so that, as in England, the dwellers there may enjoy social intercourse with their neighbours, which is indispensable to the happiness of the Roumains, men and women, especially the latter, for like the Parisians, whose fashions they endeavour to follow, they are very sociable and dislike solitude.

It is only when the country has been made pleasant to look at and to live in, that the proprietor will settle there, and to effect this transformation capital must be realized. Then an occupation for both the squire and his wife is essential; the right one is clearly indicated, and there is nothing more worthy of the dignity of man than to beautify and improve his property. Thus did the Romans, in the time of the Republic, like Cato: as Cicero has so well said, "*Nihil est agriculturâ melius, nihil uberius, nihil dulcius, nihil homine libero dignius*" ("De Off." I., 42). ("Nothing is better, more profitable, more pleasant, more worthy of a free man, than agriculture.") And these beautiful words of praise that the Roumain noblemen ought all to adopt as their motto, "*Voluptates agriculturalum mihi ad sapientis vitam proximè videntur accedere.*" ("The pleasures of him who cultivates the ground are almost equal to those of the sage.") Listen also to Horace: "Happy is he who works the paternal domain with his own oxen without being encumbered with any debts." "*Solutus omni fœnore*" (Epode II.).

What a pleasure, what a benefit, what a patriotic task to transform a whole canton by means of effort and intelligence! It is for attempts of this kind that the State and public opinion should reserve honours and rewards. But the great obstacle reappears; to improve the cattle, to get good implements, to introduce a more rational rotation of crops, to replace the somewhat unremunerative culture of wheat by that of plants used in manufactures, money is wanted, always money! And the Roumain landowner has none; far from being *solutus omni fœnore*, he has too often to pay high interest upon a heavy mortgage, and generally his income is disposed of before he gets it. It is for the influential men to persuade the well-to-do classes to interest themselves in agriculture. Examples may even be found at home, in the country itself, particularly in Moldavia; it is said that already they have there hundreds of threshing machines, and more than 50,000 English and American ploughs.

Improvement in agriculture might partly be also brought about by the initiative of the peasants, improving their dwellings and surrounding them with orchards, planting trees for shade, building stables and gaining manure which would improve the growth of fodder plants and enable them to make butter, which is always dear and much sought after. To do this they must be made to understand that there is a happier existence than that of eating enough *mamaliga* and sleeping on the ground in a hovel; this knowledge must be given by the schoolmaster and the pope, who would also need to be prepared for this economic apostolate.

It is not surprising that the peasants are still in the bonds of old habits. Before 1864, without being serfs or *adscripti glebæ*, they were bound to pay rent in work *claca*, or in kind, *szima*. As we have said, they have not only been made wholly free, but have also received, by the new law, from three to six hectares of land, according to the number of animals that they own, enabling them to cultivate their little property. The man with no cattle only received the minimum; he who had two oxen, four hectares; and he who had four, five to six hectares.

Upon a farm of this size in Flanders a family would live in comfort and even save a little; for butter, meat, flax, chicory, colza, forced potatoes, would bring in from £160 to £200. But with the extensive system of culture practised here, they do not get a living. The cultivation of the beet-root for sugar has been attempted, and large works erected on the estate of Chitilla, close to Bucharest, with the capital of Prince Bibesco, the landowner, and that of Cail and Co. who supplied the machinery. Another was set up at Sascut; sugar was manufactured, but did not return the profit hoped for. Is this astonishing when the price of the product has fallen one-half, and when everywhere industries are ruined by excessive cheapness?

The manufacture of sugar, exempted from certain excise duties, meets two obstacles here neutralizing this favour: the persistent drought of the summers, which sometimes

arrests the growth of the beet-root, and the high price of fuel. There is a scarcity of wood everywhere, and English coal with a freight of from twenty to thirty francs per ton is three times as dear as in France. Most of the sugar comes from abroad ; 7,646,000 kilogrammes in 1882, of which 5,236,000 were imported from Austro-Hungary.

Throughout the whole region of the Carpathians, Roumania possesses the most beautiful forests of Europe, and still she has no wood ! In the large mountain forests between Verciorowa and the Butchech, whilst climbing the peaks or hunting the bears, I have often seen trunks, large enough to support a gun, lying on the ground, and also the stems of beeches and pines, straight and tall like cathedral pillars, and yet in the list of imports for 1882, I saw fifteen millions for " wood and wooden articles." This is no cause of surprise ; trees have been ruthlessly destroyed throughout the plain, and the magnificent Carpathian forests are inaccessible. The first thing to be done is to imitate the Hungarians and plant acacias everywhere ; they thrive well in this fertile and dry alluvium.

Financially, Roumania has made wonderful progress. For the last ten years we might say that war, which ruins other nations, has enriched this one. The interest regularly paid on first-class loans or bills under discount used to be not less than 10 to 12 per cent. But in 1873, the first Roumanian Credit Foncier Company was established, which, at the end of 1883, had issued obligations to the amount of about 91,000,000 francs, partly at 7 per cent. and partly at 5 per cent. The National Bank of Roumania has rendered yet more signal services by rescuing the native trades from the clutches of foreign bankers. Established in 1882, with a capital of 30,000,000 francs (12,000,000 francs being subscribed by the State, which thus became a partner in the undertaking), it has brought down the rate of discount to 6 and even 5 per cent. It has branches at the chief towns—Braila, Jassy, Galatz, Kraiova ; and its note circulation has reached some 80,000,000 francs.

The revenue of the State has doubled, without any

heavier charges having been laid on the country. In 1871, it only amounted to £2,640,000, and in 1882, to £5,080,000. The tax on tobacco returned £20,000; made a monopoly, it would return £640,000. Alcohol returned £280,000 instead of £60,000; customs, £640,000 instead of £320,000; the land tax, £320,000 instead of £160,000, and so on. It is strange that in this time of universal deficit Roumania has a balance in hand; it is true she will not keep it long, a productive use has been found for it; it will be used to fortify Bucharest!

By an excellent operation the State has obtained possession of the railways, by purchase after the failure of the famous banker Strousberg. A dangerous pretext for foreign interference is thus removed. The iron-roads have become one of the methods employed by the great States to subordinate the small ones.

Petroleum may also become a source of wealth to Roumania. The oily region on the south slope of the Carpathians occupies a considerable space, but no one knows its exact limits; it is probably the continuation of that in Galicia and Hungary. The most abundant springs are found in the districts of Prahowa, Dimbowitza, and Buzen. The upper strata only have been worked. The deepest sounding has not gone below 240 metres, and it is thought that lower down, the production would be greater and more regular. According to M. Paul Dehn, from whom I take these facts, two kinds of oil are procured—one rather thick, *pacura*; the other, more limpid, contains 78 per cent. of lamp oil. Large quantities are exported into Hungary—14,000 tons in 1882. The total production is estimated at 30,000 tons. It satisfies the home demand; for in 1883 only 730 tons were imported; it is protected by high duties; five francs for raw petroleum and thirty francs for refined, per 100 kilogrammes. However, that is not enough to ensure profits. Three foreign companies work the petroleum springs—an Austrian company, near Kolibaschi, but it paid too much for the property; a German company near Plojesti, but it is said to be too expensively managed;

lastly, an English company, which is too far from the railway. They say that they have lost more than £160,000 in two years. There is plenty of petroleum, but the competition of Pennsylvania and Bakou make the prices too low. Roumania would do better to keep her mineral oil for the time when it will be exhausted elsewhere.

The mines of rock salt at Slanic and Telega, are as good as those of Maros Ujvai in Transylvania, and of Wielitzka in Galicia; they seem inexhaustible and are very easy to work. The State manages them, and employs there those who are sentenced to hard labour. In 1882, 21,916 tons were exported, worth more than £40,000. Bulgaria took 11,153 tons, and Servia 9,098. As the duty was lowered in 1883, to the price of forty francs per ton, this export trade will greatly increase.

Roumania lacks capital for the improvement of agriculture, which must certainly continue to be the principal source of her wealth, and yet she tries to divert it to manufactures, artificially protected and helped. It seems to be thought all through Eastern and Southern Europe that a country is not civilized and prosperous till it possesses extensive manufactures. Do they not see that the workmen crowded together in the factories of large towns, must be necessarily badly lodged, and are also exposed to the strikes and lock-outs which result from periodical crises? *O fortunati nimium si sua bona norint agricolæ!* It should be clearly understood that capital cannot be used for two things at the same time. If by premiums you direct it arbitrarily towards one industry or other, it is necessarily impossible that it should be used to fertilize the soil. Two cloth factories have been established—one at Neamtzu, the other at Peatra—but the cloth is used by the troops; also a large paper mill at Bacan, with a capital of £120,000, to which a special law has ensured the right of furnishing all the paper required by an administration already almost as fond of red tapeism as those of the West.

There, however, is one manufacture which prospers, not only without help from the State, but notwithstanding

heavy taxes ; it is brewing. Gambrinus truly is extending his empire throughout the world, from north to south, from east to west. In 1883, there were twenty-seven breweries, and foreign beers were imported to the value of about £16,000. The duty payable to the State is 20 francs per hectolitre, with 15 francs more at Bucharest, as town dues, whilst it is only 22 francs in Paris, 10 francs at Vienna, 3 francs at Munich, and 1 franc 50 cents at Berlin.

The domestic industries play a considerable but unnoticed part in the fabrication of all that is useful to man ; for, in the country, the peasants make almost all their furniture, their tools, and their agricultural implements, and the women weave and fashion the clothes of the whole family. But what is called business is in the hands of foreigners, because, so far, the young Roumains have preferred a place in the administration, the army, or the magistracy. The French and Belgians have had for a time the monopoly of the Bank ; they started successively the Bank of Roumania in 1879, the Roumanian *Credit Mobilier*, in 1881, and the Roumanian *Société de Construction* in the same year. French capital has also formed a Gas Company, a society for artificial basalts and other less important undertakings. The English and Greeks preponderate in Galatz and Brăila, ports of the Danube, to superintend various imports, but especially the export of wheat. An English firm, The Soulina Elevator Company, has recently set up an elevator on the American model, by the river, to load the corn. It is the English who have made the railway Tchernavoda-Küstendjeh, across the Dobrudja, and the Rustchuk-Varna line, which is a branch from the Vienna-Constantinople line of quick trains until the line *viâ* Sophia is completed.

The Greeks take an important commercial position, and as the Phanar formerly dominated in Roumania, several great Phanariote families retain large estates there. The Swiss are here, as everywhere, very good shopkeepers, well up in local needs, economical, simple, and doing good business in a straightforward way. The Hungarians are

very numerous, and most of the best servants are of that nationality. The cooks and coachmen come from Transylvania. Amongst the masons are many Italians, and Germans are in every trade.

It is incredible that the Roumains, an essential agricultural people, have never thought of cultivating vegetables for their capital; if Bulgarians did not come every year to plant them in the neighbourhood, they would be without a salad or a carrot. These Bulgarian market gardeners return every spring with the swallows, and go home for the winter with well-filled pockets. This fact alone is enough to show what a great effort must be made before thorough cultivation will be introduced into Roumania.

Must we reckon the Jews as foreigners? Yes; for the legislation looks on them as such, at least, unless they become naturalized, which is not easy; however they form a tenth of the whole population of the kingdom, a quarter of that of Moldavia taken alone, and six-tenths of that of its capital, Jassy. The question of the Jews is more difficult here than can be imagined in the West. Every one talks to me about it, from my hotel-keeper to the Minister and the King. I must therefore refer to it.

Toleration and the equality of rights and races are principles which no one thinks of disputing; but, they said to me, "Can we see without fear the inauguration of an order of things in which all the property, land, houses, factories, railways, will belong to the Jews, and in which we, Roumains, will be their tenants, valets, workmen, their subordinates always in everything?" In the economic combat the Jew will as certainly swallow the Roumain as the spider the fly.

The Roumain is brilliant, intelligent, less given to work than to spend, without foresight, always ready to run into debt to gratify the whim of the moment. The peasant sells his harvest to the wine-shop that he may have brandy; the nobleman mortgages his lands that he may go to Paris or Mehadia. The Jew is economical, prudent, always on the watch for a good bargain, by means of the irresistible power



in a country of burdened landowners cash ; is the main-spring of business.

Throughout the world the Jewish race has, in proportion, more philosophers, poets, artists, authors, and especially more journalists, an enormous superiority in these times when the Press is not the fourth but the first Estate. Armed with this superior intelligence, the definite victory of the Jew is inevitable, if open competition and equal liberties and rights are allowed. Put oil and water in a bottle, shake it, mix it as much as you please, they will never blend ; as soon as the bottle is still, the oil floats. So it is with the Jew in the East. Considering only increase of wealth, it cannot be regretted that the most energetic race, the most capable of producing wealth should take the place of a race less inclined to increase capital, only we understand that the race destined to be eaten up, or at least subordinated, does not submit willingly, but tries to defend itself.

The Great Powers, moved by the demands and complaints of the Jews, compelled Roumania, by the Treaty of Berlin, to admit equality before the law, for every one, without religious distinction. Also the Roumanian Constitution, modified in 1879, proclaims in Article 21, that "liberty of conscience is absolute;" and in Article 7, that "the difference of religious beliefs and confessions do not constitute, in Roumania, a hindrance to the exercise of civil and political rights." Certainly this is all that can be desired ; the Constitutions of the freest States contain no more complete guarantees. But Section 5, of the same Article says, "Only the Roumains, or naturalized Roumains, can acquire landed property in Roumania." Now, the Jews are considered to be foreigners, certainly they may become naturalized ; but naturalization is only obtained by a legal decision, after a regular request following on "ten years' residence and service rendered to the country." Therefore the Jews can only gradually acquire the Roumanian nationality. This will give the Roumains time to prepare for the struggle for existence upon economic

grounds ; nevertheless, if they do not wish to be driven from every position in the social world, they must work more.

The Minister Bratiano said, in a speech on the reform of the magistracy, Jan. 26, 1884 : " We ought to work twice as much as we do, at least as much as the foreigners with whom we are in competition ; look at Gladstone, who is seventy-five years of age, he works fourteen hours a day, and requires his assistants to do as much. Do you know why every one here wants an office in the State ? Because, instead of ourselves working or superintending our land, we prefer to let the whole thing to an agent, so that we may amuse ourselves abroad. Look at our cafés, our casinos, our public gardens ; they are always filled with unoccupied landowners, and especially with employés."

When, by the Treaty of Berlin, Russia compelled Roumania to cede a part of Bessarabia to her, in exchange for Dobrudja, the Cabinet of Bucharest protested energetically and persistently. This strange method of recompensing the valuable help which they had given to the Russian army at Plevna, has left in the hearts of the Roumains a feeling of bitterness and rancour against Russia which will not be easily effaced. At the same time, it is certain that Roumania has gained by the change. The Dobrudja has had a detestable reputation since the Crimean War, when, through fevers and sickness, it became the grave of so many Frenchmen. However, it consists of moderately high hills, covered with herbage suitable to feed the flocks, and of fertile valleys where there is nothing to prevent good cultivation. The German colonies which have established themselves at Kataloi, Atmadscha, Koscholak, and Tanhri-Verdi, have sufficiently proved it ; they have built nice villages with good well-ordered houses, and well-cultivated fields which are a contrast to the huts of the Bulgarians and Tartars who surround them. As a Bucharest professor in Nacian shows in a very interesting book entitled "*La Dobrudja économique et Sociale.*" Two-thirds of the country seem to be capable of growing everything, and especially very good vines upon the lower slope

of the hills. The Dobrudja could easily support half a million of men ; unfortunately it is rapidly becoming depopulated. The Mussulmans emigrated in large numbers to escape the conscription, and the shepherds of Roumanian tongue, the Mokanes, who come from Hungary, are not enough to replace them. The population has fallen from 250,000 to 170,000 souls. However, Küstendjeh, upon the Black Sea, has already become a fashionable bathing-place. If they were to make a bridge over the Danube, and to improve the port, this town would become the principal port of Roumania ; for it is never frozen, as the Danube often is at Galatz and Braila.

To sum up my impressions, Roumania reminds me of Belgium in many respects, by her love of liberty, by her institutions, and by the aims of her sovereign and statesmen ; only, as instead of 29,451 square kilometres, her territory measures 129,947, and she has only 40 people to a hundred hectares ; she ought to become three or four times more populous and powerful, and she will, if she continues to be well governed. Let her guard against envying her neighbours or mixing with foreign politics, except in self-defence, and let her especially endeavour to develop her natural resources and her future is assured.

M. Aurelian took me to see a primary school, situated near a pretty new church, and having a well-planted garden before it. The class-rooms and scholastic furniture are like what we have in our good schools in the West ; but I was much interested by the military exercises, which the children executed with precision that reminded me of the pupils at Berne. They wore the uniform of the soldiers of the territorial army of grey cloth, with a red belt and an Astrakan *kalpac*, and each one was armed with a little wooden gun. In this way they prepare good recruits for the territorial army.

I owe to M. Aurelian complete tables showing the condition of primary education during the year 1881-82. I give the following figures : Primary rural schools, 2,459 pupils—boys, 74,532 ; girls, 8,544. Town schools, 271 ;

boys, 23,832; girls, 12,989. General total, 119,897, for a population of 5,876,000. A pupil to each 44 people is very little. The number of girls who go to school in the country is lamentably small. How different from the Scandinavian countries! The establishments of middle-class education are relatively much fuller. Seven grammar schools, with 160 professors and 2,108 pupils; 9 gymnasiums, with 180 professors and 2,098 pupils; 9 seminaries, with 99 professors and 1,512 pupils; 8 normal primary schools, with 85 professors and 741 pupils; 5 schools of commerce, with 56 professors and 772 pupils; 12 superior and professional schools, one of which is a normal school for girls, with 119 professors and 1,459 pupils; 28 special schools of different kinds, with 199 professors and 2,085 pupils. Two universities, one at Bucharest, the other at Jassy, with 87 professors and 693 students, including four girls—one of whom is studying literature, one science, and two medicine. It is the same here as in Greece; education is widely spread in the middle class, but very little amongst the people, especially in the country.

Some years ago the financial condition of Roumania was deplorable, and there was often as much trouble to get payment from the Treasury as in Constantinople. Now there is often a surplus, and the Budget of 1884 is a balance: 125,000,00 francs in receipts and as much in expenses. The entire debt is not very heavy, 619,000,000, 345,000,000 of which are represented by the value of the railways belonging to the State; the remainder 274,000,000 is the only real debt! The monetary system is like that of France, except that the franc is called *leu*. The organization of the army is according to the old Prussian type; a small army of 18,532 men and 2,945 horses under arms, but numerous and well-exercised reserves in the territorial army which numbers 100,000 men. King Charles, much taken up with military matters, has given to his troops the soldierly qualities, spirit, and solidity, as was proved at Plevna.

M. Lavertujon, the French Commissioner in the Euro-

pean Commission for the Danube, has given me some very interesting details about this institution. I have a great admiration for it; I see in it the first example of what may be done in the future, by a cordial understanding between civilized nations desirous of securing international action profitable for all. How many useful things might be carried out this way by common effort, which are never realized, because no one of them should derive a direct and exclusive advantage!

The European Commission was the outcome of the resolutions of the Treaty of Paris in 1856, which guaranteed in the most solemn manner the liberty of the river, and which also decided that material improvements must be carried out to make it navigable. Neglected since 1828, its three principal mouths were all choked up. The Commission consisted of delegates of the Great Powers which had taken part in the Treaty of Paris; a Roumanian delegate had been recently added to the number. They obtained a revenue by the enactment of tolls which allowed them to execute the works necessary for deepening the Soulina arm, and then, which was also essential, to guarantee security and to put an end to the abominable trade of the "wreckers," and to the pillages of all kinds to which the vessels were exposed. The Commission has thus all the attributes of a State—a territory, the delta of the Danube as far as Braila, a flag, a budget; it enacts navigation and police laws, and carries out the execution of works, and it is thus an international State, created for the good of commerce and of all humanity. The success of the works executed by the Commission can be appreciated by the statistics published regularly concerning the number of ships in and out, their tonnage, the depth of the mouth at Soulina at different seasons, the level of the water at points formerly the most dangerous, the number of shipwrecks, &c. We must not forget that before these works, the mouths of the Danube were impassable, and the views taken by artists showed on all sides the masts of ships which had sunk to the bottom.

A Conference met in London in March, 1883, which was only, according to its own decisions, a continuation of the Congress of Berlin, accorded the Commission of the Danube a new life of twenty-five years. Also, it wished to create a similar government for the Middle Danube, between Galatz and the Iron Gates, giving to Austria power to remove this obstacle. A mixed Commission should be formed, furnished with similar powers to those of the Commission of the Delta. In this Commission, although she is not a riverside State, Austria should have had the preponderating influence, in virtue of her considerable interests on the Upper Danube. In consequence of the absolute resistance of Roumania this scheme has remained a dead letter until this day. In a speech from the throne, November 15, 1881, King Charles said: "We accept the severest regulations, and the most rigorous oversight for their application; but we expect that in Roumanian waters this oversight shall be exerted by the Roumanian authorities."

This debate created the greatest excitement at the time I was at Bucharest. The Minister Stourdza had published an account, which was very well written, for proving the rights of his country. MM. de Holtzendorf and Castellani, eminent authorities on international law, had decided that the sovereignty of Roumania on her own territory was unimpeachable. The Austrian and Roumanian papers gave themselves up to such violent polemics, that one could only fear the consequences. Since then peace has been made. The question slumbers, but the Commission which would have executed such useful works does not exist. Might not the rights that had been granted to the Commission of the Middle Danube be given to the Commission of the Delta, the riverside States putting the regulations in force on their own territory? This system, though less rigorous, would still be efficacious, for the European Commission would denounce throughout Europe the State which should fail to carry out its obligations.

At the moment of finishing my journey, I am again met with the question of nationalities, which has haunted me

since I crossed the Austrian frontier. We do not meet with it in the interior of Roumania, but in the neighbouring countries; for more than four millions of Roumains live in Transylvania and the Banat in Hungary, and in Russian Bessarabia, &c. I hear sharp complaints against the methods of repression, and even of persecution, used by the Hungarians to Magyarize the Wallacks, and I have received a very curious document on this subject. It is a memorandum published by the committee which was elected on the 14th of May, 1881, by one hundred and fifty-three delegates of the Roumanian electors of Transylvania and Hungary. The historic proofs of the rights of the Roumanian nationality, the grievances that should be redressed are explained in detail. In conclusion, here are the demands of this committee that might be called truly national:—1st. Autonomy of re-constituted Transylvania. 2nd. The use of the Roumain language in the government and law courts of the districts inhabited by Roumains. 3rd. Roumain officials wherever Roumain is spoken. 4th. A revision of the law of nationalities, or a faithful execution of the existing law. 5th. Autonomy of churches and denominational schools, abrogation of laws contrary to national development. 6th. Universal suffrage, or a vote for each ratepayer. Three millions of Roumains would then make the same complaints heard on the east, as two millions of Croats do on the west of Hungary.

To these complaints, and to the equally keen ones of the Transylvanian Saxons, M. M. Ambros Nemenyi, member of the Hungarian Parliament, has answered with much moderation, and quoting facts, in a book called "*Hungariæ Res*" of 1868, he shows first that in virtue of the law for the equal rights of nationalities (*Gleichberechtigung der Nationalitäten*), it is the communes or local school authorities which decide the language to be used in education and administration. In consequence of this, from the 15,824 schools in Hungary in 1880 (not including Croatia), 7,342 only used the Hungarian language, and 8,482 used other languages.

In a recent and most impartial pamphlet, "*Die Sprachen-*

rechte in den Staaten gemischte Nationalitat," M. Adolph Fischhoff shows that the Hungarian law of 1868, on the *Gleichberechtigung*, is that which is the fairest to the rights of the different nationalities. The law of 1868 concerning the nationalities in Transylvania asserts: Art. 1, The three languages of the country are Hungarian, German, and Roumanian.—Art. 2 to 9, In regard to justice or administration, each party may use any one of these three languages.—Art. 11, The municipal councils decide which shall be the official language.—Art. 18, In the schools of all degrees, those who have the duty of supporting and directing them decide the language to be used.—Art. 19, It is the same in the churches.—What can one ask for more?

The Non-Magyars always complain of the Magyars, such is the sad and disquieting fact: the cause is easy to discern; each pursues an opposite ideal. The Hungarians wish to form a unified kingdom, with a parliament in the English fashion, and, consequently, they endeavour to lessen all peculiarities in institutions, languages, customs, and ideas; and that may be understood, for these Gothic institutions oppose intolerable barriers to the rapidity of movement demanded by the modern situations. The Non-Magyars, on the other hand, wish to preserve everything that will lessen the power of the central authority and of Magyarism.

I shall repeat what I said with respect to Croatia. The Hungarians ought frankly to accept federalism in Transleithania as the Germans ought to do in Cisleithania, and the more so because the situation is much more dangerous. The Magyars can no more hope to Magyarize the Croats, who, having Servia and Bosnia close by, will no more assimilate than the Wallacks, supported by young Roumania, which will also develop. What a danger when the day comes to defend the country, to have for enemies these nationalities within the country itself! I saw in Transylvania, in 1867, the blackened ruins of Hungarian castles, burned by Wallack peasants. The Parliament of Pesth has suppressed the autonomy of Transylvania, which dated from before the year 1000, and which had its glorious past,



as the English Parliament destroyed the autonomy of Ireland. England would re-establish it now, but what peril would follow the bitter memories of the past !

Look on the contrary, the Swiss Canton Tessin. It is completely Italian. Italy is united, free, glorious, ever prosperous in some respects, and yet the Italians of the Tessin do not ask for annexation to Italy, they prefer to remain a canton of the Swiss Confederation. Act in such a way that the Croats, the Servians, and the Wallacks may be equally attached to the crown of St. Stephen ; but it is only by federation that you will obtain this result.

There are two movements at work in the world, centripetal and centrifugal—the one the fusion of races produced by the facility of communication and similarity of customs and laws ; the other of decentralization, brought about by the wish of nationalities, provinces, and towns to govern themselves.

I will say a few words in conclusion on the policy followed by the Great Powers in the East. The two rivals, Russia and England, have often acted contrary to their own aim. Russia has made great sacrifices both of men and money to free the Slavs, but by wishing to interfere in their internal affairs she has lost the fruits of her efforts. England has not understood that her own interest commands her to favour the creation, in the Balkan Peninsula, of States sufficiently strong to maintain their independence.

Austro-Hungary, on the contrary, has advanced with prudence and perseverance in the path of a kind of economic supremacy, which is realized by railways and treaties of commerce. She monopolizes three-quarters of the traffic of the new States of the Peninsula, she has therefore the greatest interest in obtaining for the provinces still under the Porte, and especially to Macedonia, the order and security necessary for the development of their wealth, from which her trade would reap all the benefit. That is what she does not seem to see very clearly. Recently, January, 1886, Count Andrassy has shown in graceful

words in the Hungarian Parliament, that Austro-Hungary ought to protect her young nationalities which are forming in the Peninsula, and, now, to recognize the union of Bulgaria and Roumelia.

France has shown more coherency in her Oriental policy. Except at the time of the Crimean War, a mistake to be imputed to the dynastic interest of Napoleon, she has always protested in favour of the *rayas*.

The path to be followed by Italy is indicated by her origin and commercial interest; she ought to support the constitution of autonomous nationalities which will be some day united by a federal bond. Certain egotistical and low-minded aims appear to turn her sometimes away from this line of simple, generous conduct, in conformity with her real interest.

As to Germany, she has only one idea—to favour the expansion of Austria, so as to render an alliance between the two empires more necessary and profitable.

M. de Blowitz, again expressing the general opinion, believes that a great European War will take place to decide who shall have Constantinople. The States fight so frequently without any reasonable motive, that this abominable conflict may come to pass, but what I cannot believe is that it will be fatal. To prevent it, it would be enough to apply to the provinces of European Turkey, 23rd Article of the Treaty of Berlin, interpreted in the sense of the system in the Lebanon; Albania, Macedonia, the province of Adrianople, endowed with a real autonomy, would develop without trouble, and without provoking foreign interference. In Constantinople a mixed Administration would manage the municipal interests. The sovereignty of the Porte would be maintained; its revenues would increase in consequence of the growing prosperity of its subjects. Then, if the Ottomans accommodated themselves to this system of liberty and equality, their position would be strengthened; if not, they would be slowly eliminated by elements more capable of adaptation to modern methods. There would be a slow progress, an insensible transformation which

would bring about a new order without the fearful crisis of a general war.

As I finish this volume, it is affirmed that the idea of an Oriental Confederation begins to find favour in the governmental spheres of Constantinople, and even with those of Vienna and Pesth.

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